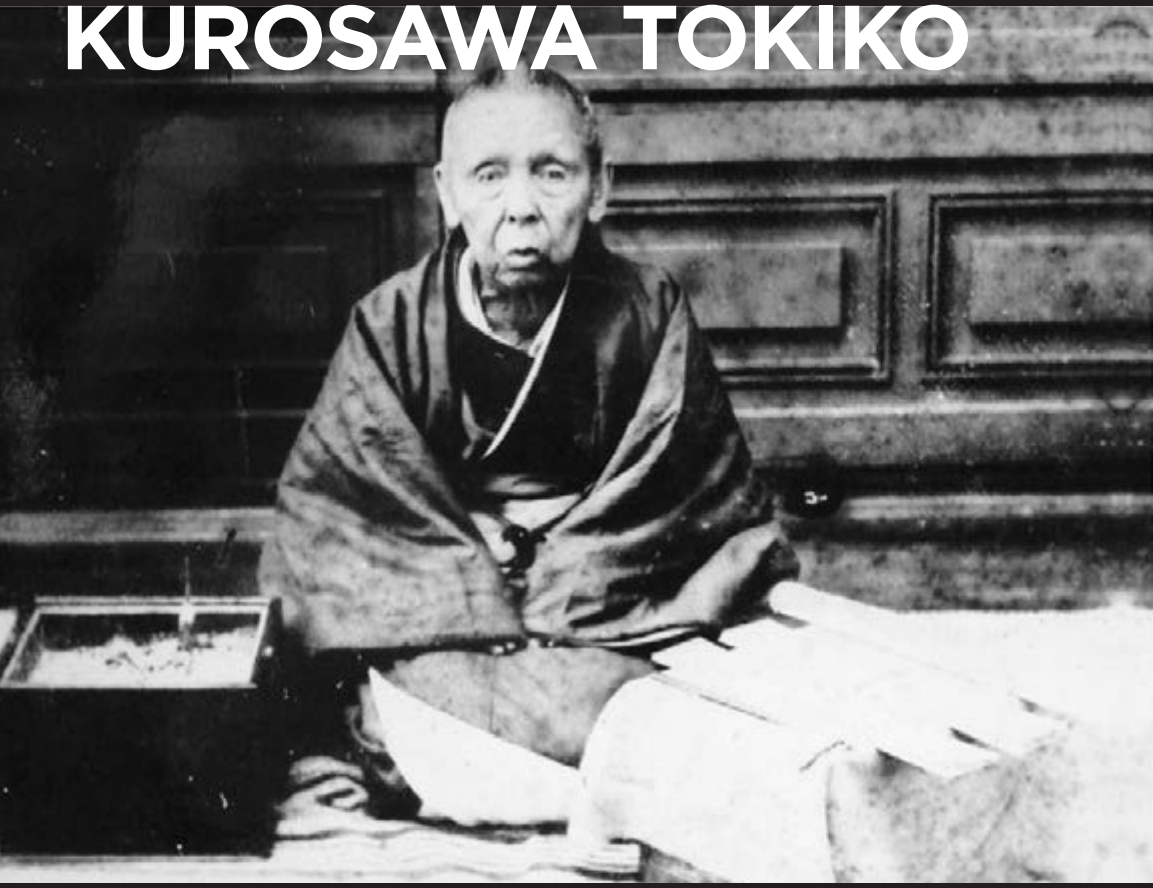
THE CHAOS AND COSMOS OF

KUROSAWA TOKIKO



One Woman's Transit from Tokugawa to Meiji Japan

LAURA NENZI

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Laura Nenzi

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Over the years I have benefited from the untiring support of my mother, my sister, my late father, and the late nonna Elena. If this is a book about (among other things) microcosms, it is fitting that I would turn to my own small world to conclude. The two other characters who populate it, Peter and

Furball, have provided countless distractions, mostly in the form of comic relief and requests to be fed. One of them resorted to strutting up and down my keyboard to let his need for attention be known. Out of respect I will not name the culprit, but it goes without saying that all typos are entirely his fault.

Introduction
The Flight of a Sparrow

In *That Mighty Sculptor, Time,* Marguerite Yourcenar likens the life of man on earth to the flight of a sparrow

> who enters through a window in the great hall warmed by a blazing fire . . . while outside the tempests and snows of winter rage. And the bird swiftly sweeps through the great hall and flies out the other side, and after this brief respite, having come out of the winter, he goes back into it and is lost to our eyes. Such is the brief life of man, of which we know neither what goes before nor what comes after.[1]

This is the story of one such sparrow, Kurosawa Tokiko (1806–1890), who happened to fly into the room in a meaningful place and at a momentous time: Mito domain in the final century of the Tokugawa period (1600–1868).

Ruled by one of the Tokugawa's three collateral houses, Mito domain was located a three days' journey north of the shogun's capital of Edo (now Tokyo). Beginning with domain lord Tokugawa Mitsukuni's (1628–1701) sponsoring of the *Great History of Japan* (*Dai Nihonshi*) in the seventeenth century, Mito had played a key role in political discourse and had fostered the rise of the so-called Mito ideology, a creed anchored on the notions of reverence for the emperor and the rejection of foreign elements. By Tokiko's time, Mito ideology had reached the rural areas and made the transition from scholarly to popular; no longer the sole preserve of urban intellectuals and samurai, it had been appropriated by the general population as well and had mutated from discourse into (often violent) action.[2]

For a good part of her life, Tokiko lived under the realm of Tokugawa Nariaki (r. 1829–1844), a domain lord whose radical reforms often placed him on a collision course with the Edo government. The sparrow Tokiko was in the room during the years that marked the collapse of the Tokugawa. She witnessed the political showdown between the government and xenophobic loyalist ideologues (known for the motto "revere the emperor, expel the barbarians")

that followed the signing of treaties with foreign powers in the 1850s. She endured the 1864 civil war in her domain, lived across the 1868 Tokugawa-Meiji divide, and experienced first-hand the modernizing policies of the Meiji government. She left the room for good in 1890 after a long life during which, among other things, she worked as a traveling peddler, learned the art of poetry, absorbed the basic principles of the mountain religion Shugendō (a syncretic belief combining elements from Buddhism, shamanism, Daoism, and Shinto), practiced divination, ran a village school in the Tokugawa period, and became an elementary school teacher and the local representative of a sectarian Shinto organization in the Meiji period. Her life, in other words, unfolded against the background of Japan's bumpy transition from the "early modern" to the "modern" eras, reflecting some of its key moments but also illuminating some of its less known aspects.

Tokiko is not a household name in late-Tokugawa and Meiji studies because none of her actions changed the course of history in the slightest. Her gender and status also made her inconspicuous; by her own admission—one that she articulated with a touch of poetic flair—she was a "base-born nobody" whose life was as evanescent "as dew on roadside grasses."[3] Unimportant and unknown, Tokiko may as well have lived her life in near-complete anonymity and may have exited the room leaving no trace behind. But she did not, for two reasons. First, Tokiko was a prolific writer; she composed hundreds of poems and kept several diaries that for the most part have survived the test of time and continue to tell her story. Second, despite being a base-born woman from a rural community, she engaged in activities that brought her out of her microcosm and within the purview of "big history." (I use this expression as a term of convenience to indicate the milestone events of her day and age—the textbook moments that occurred far from her rural village and were decided by lead historical actors she would have never personally known.) Acting against the expectations imposed by her gender, Tokiko did not quietly sit on the sidelines as the country was falling into disarray. Outraged at the concessions made to foreign powers with the Ansei Treaties of 1858, incensed at the punishment that the government meted out to her former domain lord Tokugawa Nariaki (a vocal opponent of the treaties), she elected to become an active player in the loyalist movement of the late Tokugawa. In the spring of 1859 she composed a long poem extolling Nariaki and lambasting Prime Minister Ii Naosuke, the architect of the treaties, and traveled to Kyoto to deliver it in the hands of Emperor Kōmei. She was arrested, imprisoned (including a stint in Edo's infamous Tenmachō prison), and sentenced to banishment. The Meiji government recognized her efforts on behalf of the loyalist movement and honored her with a land grant in 1875 and with posthumous court rank in 1907. Her story, therefore, is

not only well documented but also worthy of attention for the ways in which it intersects with, and enriches, the broader narrative of the late-Tokugawa crisis, the collapse of the shogunate, and the rise of the modern state.

This book follows the flight of the sparrow with three goals in mind. The first is to offer a fresh perspective on what it meant to be a woman and a political activist in the late Tokugawa period. This topic has been taken up before, most notably in Anne Walthall's biography of Matsuo Taseko (1811–1894), a loyalist woman from Shinano, and, if to a lesser extent, by Tanigawa Kaeko's research on the Fukuoka nun Nomura Bōtō (1806–1867).[4] While gender and a devotion to the loyalist cause may have put Tokiko, Bōtō, and Taseko in the same general category, their cultural and economic backgrounds, their motivations, their cosmologies, and the ways in which they articulated and enacted their participation in the political debate of their times were vastly different, and each deserves due attention. In the pages that follow I will compare Tokiko's experience to that of other female participants in the loyalist movement to highlight significant idiosyncrasies that make Tokiko's case enriching rather than redundant. Specifically, I will show how, in order to engage with the politics of her day and age, Tokiko deployed strategies that other female loyalists would have never considered and may have even abhorred, including divination, flirtations with ghosts, and frequent appeals to the cosmic forces.[5] Such strategies were neither more effective than those of others nor did they guarantee impunity. Rather than their concrete results, I argue, it is their very deployment that matters, for it bespeaks creativity, resourcefulness, and variety in terms of approaches. In its distinct trajectory, the flight of this sparrow illuminates hitherto unknown paths to female intrusion into the political landscape of the late Tokugawa.

In making this point, I challenge the notion that the study of any one given individual is meaningful only insofar as such person is representative of a collective trend. It is not my intention to present Tokiko as exemplary of the way in which "women" experienced the collapse of the Tokugawa and the rise of the modern state—contrary to the opinion of the anonymous reviewer of an article I wrote, who cited Matsuo Taseko's biography to argue that a gendered history of late-Tokugawa loyalism already existed, hence the case for women was closed. By the same token, one must assume that the publication of a study on Yoshida Shōin would have made subsequent monographs on Sakamoto Ryōma or Saigō Takamori repetitive and unnecessary, for the history of *male* loyalism had already been written.

The second goal of this study is to expand beyond gender and to see how Tokiko's case nuances our understanding of late-Tokugawa ideology and society. Historians of this period have already been treated to a vast English-language

corpus of scholarship on the lives and deeds of prominent loyalists and of less illustrious ones, from the educated samurai to the rural peasants.[6] Regions where no insurrections ensued, no incidents occurred, and, simply put, "nothing happened," have also been studied.[7] Equally well researched is the broader intellectual milieu of late-Tokugawa Japan, with monographs spanning from the most sophisticated spheres of discourse and ideology to the rural language of dissent, all the way to the colorful and imaginative takes on foreign encroachment by commercial publishers and urban commoners.[8]

Narratives of late-Tokugawa loyalism tend to emphasize the rational approach of its adherents (often referred to as "men of high purpose," or "warriors with intention" or "with determination") and of its sympathizers. Victor Koschmann, for example, calls attention to the detailed plan for a return to order envisioned by the Shōkōkan scholars in Mito and to the lucid motivations behind the Tengu rebels' pilgrimage to Nikkō in 1864.[9] Mark Ravina describes Saigō Takamori (1828–1877) as a man "uncomfortable with ambiguity," who, even in the turmoil of the mid-1860s, urged his allies to "proceed with reason."[10] Haga Noboru also emphasizes how, when it came to their mission, the "men of high purpose" acted rationally. Citing Yoshida Shōin, he paints a portrait of the loyalists as men who "in times of peace read books, learn the Way, formulate policies for the administration, and ponder over the pros and cons of past and present, but the moment things change and war breaks out they practice their usual determination." He adds that while their mounting sense of purpose could spill over into obsession (to the point that some of them incorporated the character for "obsessed" or "maniac" into their nicknames), in general "they wholeheartedly emphasized the fact that one must exercise restraint."[11] Likewise, H. D. Harootunian points out that, even though the attitude of the activists veered toward the hysterical after the 1850s, their behavior remained "tempered by a concern for appropriate knowledge." Even Yoshida Shōin's post-1858 descent into madness, adds Harootunian, was a strategy whereby he could highlight the threat to national survival and create a cult of his own person.[12] Last but not least, Anne Walthall reminds us that even a woman like Matsuo Taseko thought and acted with a degree of "rationality men can understand."[13]

Studies that take an approach from below either emphasize open conflict and acts of violence[14] or focus on the emotional challenges to the sociopolitical order (the blossoming of new religions, runaway pilgrimages, or frenzied dances accompanied by looting) on the part of the faceless and "charmed" masses—"the rabble and the hoi polloi."[15] Most agree that behind popular acts of dissent—from foot dragging to false compliance, from veiled threats to open insurrection—lay not so much a lofty ideological stance as a basic quest for

economic stability if not straight-out financial gain, with the main concern being always localized and "petty."[16]

Tokiko's story refuses to fit snugly into any of these narratives. While she acted with the same sense of purpose as all other loyalists, Tokiko also drew on the realm of the spiritual and of the uncanny. She blended focused determination with frequent appeals to portents and cosmic forces, and enacted plans for action based on the analysis of yin-yang permutations, the interpretation of celestial omens, and the occasional conversation with a ghost. Unlike some of the self-anointed prophets and visionaries of her day and age, however, Tokiko communicated with the heavens not from a place of frenzy or opportunism but from one of erudition, pragmatism, and analytical proficiency;[17] unlike the panic-stricken loyalists of the late 1850s, she never descended into madness (either "authentic" or calculated) but remained focused on and, to the extent that the times allowed it, consistent in her vision. Her goals were neither localized and petty nor universal and abstract, but situated somewhere in between: in appealing to the heavens, Tokiko looked for ways to manage the chaos of her day and age and restore order in her life and in the realm. The original manner in which she approached the crisis of her times and envisioned possible solutions enriches our understanding of ideology and society in the late Tokugawa by blurring the line between (what we would call) rational and irrational, between focus and folly, and between discourse and action.

The third and final goal of this book is even broader: to assess the role of the ordinary individual in the large historical process and to measure the degree to which personal experiences intersected, overlapped, and engaged—if at all—with key historical moments. An acute yet admittedly unimportant observer, Tokiko wrote about the gyrations of late-Tokugawa and early-Meiji history from a personal and often peripheral viewpoint that blended the large and the small scales, the abstract and the tangible, the momentous and the mundane. On the one hand, her musings reflect well-known historical junctions (the Ansei Purges, the Mito civil war) as they were understood, experienced, and acted upon by an ordinary person; across the 1868 watershed, her story allows us to gauge the extent to which a citizen of "modern Japan" negotiated between change and continuity. On the other, the same musings bring to light a picture of personal preoccupations that were often disconnected from, and entirely unrelated to, the textbook moments of history. In this respect, Tokiko's experience reminds us that the lives of most individuals were defined by different but no less remarkable benchmarks; births and deaths in the family, the materializing of unexpected educational opportunities, or chance encounters with like-minded folks often had a far greater, more immediate impact than the signing of diplomatic treaties or the distant rumbles of revolutions. Overall, her

life trajectory shows that the yardstick with which we quantify the advance of big history often fails to account for the nooks and crannies that add depth to the picture; it shows us that, without footnotes, the main text is nowhere near as rich and meaningful.

By looking at history writ large through the eyes of an unimportant person who did not change its course, *The Chaos and Cosmos of Kurosawa Tokiko* is an exercise in microhistory, one that owes much to the work of other historians who have placed the single individual, the irrelevant nobody, at the front and center of their narratives.[18] There is, of course, no clear-cut definition of microhistory. To some, it means dissecting "with almost maniacal detail" the fifteen hours that preceded and followed a single battle;[19] to others, the "micro" in "microhistory" is less synonymous with a short span of time and more with an inconsequential place or person. Giovanni Levi, for example, speaks of his study of Giovanni Battista Chiesa, a healer and exorcist in seventeenth-century Piedmont, as the "undistinguished story" of an "unsophisticated" man living in a "banal place" at a time when "nothing seem[ed] to be happening."[20] There is no shortage of metaphors to define the approach of microhistory: it is the historiographical equivalent of a cinematographic close-up, the examination of the leaves at the expense of the tree, the obsession with "cosmic irrelevance," the focus "on scraps rather than on larger entities."[21] It is refuge history, not prospect history; the stuff of truffle hunters rather than parachutists;[22] the observation of a frog's skin cells through a microscope as opposed to a study of the frog's place in its ecosystem.[23]

In a sense, many of these definitions apply to this study, which is based on "circumscribed documentation, tied to a person who was otherwise unknown."[24] In other ways, however, Tokiko's story defies some of the principles of microhistory: it covers a relatively long time span, it deals with mundane but also with extraordinary circumstances, and it is anything but the account of an illiterate, inarticulate, or voiceless ignoramus oblivious to the world outside her village. To quote Tokiko's own words, this is a social history of the late Tokugawa period as lived by someone "born far from heaven, in the countryside";[25] a study of gender as defined by the experience of a "foolish woman";[26] an examination of loyalism as practiced by someone whose actions amounted to "one drop in the ocean."[27] It is, lastly, a snapshot of big history as it percolated in a place so inconsequential that "the bamboo in my garden looks like my only friend."[28] To add to the long list of metaphors, then, *The Chaos and Cosmos of Kurosawa Tokiko* is the story of a sparrow, but also a glimpse of its encompassing bird's-eye view.

COSMIC CONFIGURATIONS AND HUMAN CONNECTIONS

Two organizational principles connect the dots throughout the pages that follow. The first is the role of spirituality and the heavens in Tokiko's life before, during, and after the collapse of the Tokugawa. The three sections into which I organize the book reflect, in part, the different ways in which Tokiko's use of divination and visions evolved in response to mutating historical and/or personal circumstances. Mine is an artificial division, one that suits a preferred organizational and analytical principle but does not intend to exclude other important aspects of Tokiko's experience. Most prominent among those other aspects—and effectively functioning as a second theme—is the impact of human connections in shaping Tokiko's political persona and in providing support, assistance, and comfort at various stages in her life. Her tangible social world, therefore, features just as prominently as her cosmic configurations in this study.

Part 1,"Tokiko's World" (chapters 1 and 2), occupies the turf of microhistory in the strictest sense, for it centers mostly on the spaces of the house, the community, and the domain. It introduces Tokiko by mapping her geographical and social microcosms, observing her day-to-day activities, and tracing the contours of the social networks she established in the years leading up to her political awakening. The cosmic and divine appear from the start as part and parcel of Tokiko's daily life; their function, at this stage, was mostly economic and social. Tokiko's ability to carry out a conversation with the heavens was a source of income and identity. The divination services she offered likely supplemented the income generated by teaching and put her on the map, raising her profile and enabling her to establish important networks that gave her access to information. Her proficiency in the language of the heavens cast Tokiko in the role of link between her community and the cosmic forces: when the time came for her to take a leap into history, Tokiko built upon those foundations to fashion herself as the one who would communicate the heavens' will to a wider audience, helping not just her fellow villagers but the realm writ large.

Part 2, "The Chaos and Cosmos of Kurosawa Tokiko" (chapters 3 through 7), places Tokiko within the frame of large-scale history. It begins with her political awakening in the catastrophic Year of the Horse Ansei 5 (1858), at a time when the world around her had descended into chaos. It outlines her foray into activism, from the 1859 mission to Kyoto and her arrest, to her time in prison, her release, and her return to Mito, where she eventually bore witness to the 1864 civil war. In this section, Tokiko's dialogues with the heavens serve a new purpose, becoming an integral part of her political project. It was an anomaly in the cosmic harmony, she tells us, that first alerted her to the magnitude of the

ongoing crisis and ignited her political activism: with its eerie white light, the comet of 1858 revealed to Tokiko a world marred by instability ("tremors"), "turned . . . upside down," and in a "life-or-death situation."[29] The heavens are also the site where Tokiko looked for solutions. In the turmoil of the late Tokugawa, she consulted them as sources of answers and strength and referred to them as "the orderly heavens" (*shōten,* a term that I will also translate as "cosmos," not in the sense of the entire universe itself but to indicate a "cosmic order" antithetical to the world's chaos).[30]

In this section we find Tokiko keeping her ears cocked to the whispers of the cosmos while at the same time conversing with her peers and listening to the "words of the people of the floating world."[31] Despite some of her claims to the contrary, Tokiko's political consciousness did not entirely descend upon her from the sky but was also rooted in the fertile soil of late-Tokugawa Mito domain and of interregional networks that connected poets, Shugendō practitioners, and loyalists. (These are not mutually exclusive categories, of course, and many of Tokiko's acquaintances were in fact all of the above.) Her feat of activism would not have been possible without a hefty dose of human interaction and on-the-ground support from her social networks, which, like the heavens with which she spoke, gave her comfort, assistance, and direction.

Tokiko's relation with the heavens and with her community changed yet again starting in the early Meiji era and continuing well into the twentieth century, as detailed in part 3, "Memory, Manipulation, and Amnesia" (chapters 8 through 11). On the one hand, the crisis that had precipitated her political activism was now a thing of the past, meaning that the quest for answers in the cosmos and within loyalist circles was no longer pressing. On the other, the Meiji government's abolition of Shugendō in 1872 and the replacement of private village schools with state-controlled elementary schools in the same year deprived Tokiko of a significant part of her identity, income, and social function, forcing her to seek new ways to define her role and worth. From joining the ranks of a sectarian Shinto organization to reinventing herself as an elementary school teacher, Tokiko adapted as best she could to mutating historical circumstances while at the same time striving to preserve her past.

Part 3 does not end with Tokiko's death in 1890. After the sparrow flies out the window and is lost to our eyes forever, I continue to trace the fuzzy contours of its flight as it was reconstructed by others in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Chapters 9 through 11 examine the renditions and manipulations of Tokiko's story after she was no longer there to speak for herself. Two important facets of the modern age inform these chapters: the replacement of "superstition" with science, and the 1930s and 1940s articulation of acceptable models for Japanese women. The gravitational pull of scientific

modernity and of the model citizen warped the ways in which Tokiko's story was understood and retold. Specifically, her ability to speak to the heavens, which she had deployed as an asset in the late nineteenth century, became a liability in the eyes of twentieth-century biographers, for it bespoke irrationality. Her political activism was an even thornier issue, hailed as an example of patriotic behavior on the one hand, but feared as a model of female insubordination on the other. Popular as well as academic renditions of Tokiko's story produced after her death and throughout the first half of the twentieth century downplayed or omitted altogether her fascination with comets, ghosts, and hexagrams and walked a fine line in presenting her political side.[32] Monographs, encyclopedias, magazine articles, pamphlets, and biographies took turns in commemorating her as an accidental heroine, as a paragon of frugality, as a skilled poet, or as a talented and compassionate teacher; one work of fiction from the immediate postwar period even cast her as an arch-villain and female daredevil who did in fact change the course of history (see chapter 11). They all but failed, however, to give prominence to her identity as a mediator between heaven and earth, and in doing so, they forgot to acknowledge that Tokiko thrived best in the interstices between rational and emotional, between discourse and action, between chaos and cosmos.

FRAGMENTS AND FOOTNOTES

In retracing the genesis of the project that would yield *The Cheese and the Worms,* Carlo Ginzburg wrote that, by reducing the scale of observation, what could have been a mere footnote in the narrative of the Protestant Reformation in Friuli ended up becoming a book.[33] Much like Ginzburg's Friulian miller Menocchio, Tokiko too initially came to me in fragments and footnotes. She first surfaced while I was researching women travelers of the Tokugawa period; among the many studies I consulted, one cited excerpts from her Kyoto travel diary, another whispered her name from a note at the bottom of the page.[34]

As I set out to investigate her life, I was struck by the dearth of material dealing with her, both in English and, surprisingly, in Japanese. Not entirely unknown,[35] Tokiko is conspicuously absent from important reference works such as Heibonsha's *Great Dictionary of Japanese History* (*Nihonshi daijiten,* 1993) or Yoshikawa Kōbunkan's *Great Dictionary of National History* (*Kokushi daijiten,* 1990). There is no trace of Tokiko in Nakahara Masao's *Women and the Meiji Restoration* (*Meiji ishin to josei,* 1974) either. Studies dedicated to female writers of the early modern period have left her out as well, despite her undeniable proficiency with the brush.[36] None of her diaries or her numerous poetry collections has been printed in full, much less translated into English;

they can be consulted only as manuscripts at the prefectural archives in Mito (Ibaraki Kenritsu Rekishikan) or, until 2009, at the Tokiko Shiryōkan, a small annex adjacent to her native home in the village of Katsura, Shirosato town. (After 2009 most of the documents preserved in the Tokiko Shiryōkan were donated to Ibaraki University, where they have been cataloged as Kurosawa Family Records, or *Kurosawa-ke monjo*.) Several academics in Japan, including scholars of the Meiji Restoration, confessed to having never heard of her.

Despite the best efforts of Mito-based sympathizers past and present, who have been hard at work since the turn of the twentieth century to make sure her story would not be lost, circumstances big and small have conspired to keep her at the margins. A selection of her writings that Tokiko's great-grandson Kurosawa Minesaburō had collated in the 1930s, for example, was forever lost when the Joshi Gakushūin library in which it was stored went up in flames during the air raids that ravaged Tokyo in the final months of the Pacific War.[37] Her native home with the classroom in which she tutored the village children still stands (figures 1.1 and 1.2), but all efforts to have it recognized as a cultural property have failed. At the time of my first visit in 2007, the house was well kept and open to the public; a charming soba restaurant, appropriately named Toki Soba, operated nearby. Tokiko's sixth-generation grandson, Seiichi, lived next door, and the adjacent Tokiko Shiryōkan served as storage, archive, and impromptu museum. The property, however, had recently gone up for sale, and its future remained unclear. Things looked much bleaker in the summer of 2008. A private investor had bought the property; while he had not, as many feared, turned it into a pachinko parlor or a convenience store, the house now sat in disrepair and was no longer open to the public. The soba restaurant had relocated, though keeping the same name and actually gaining in charm. Seiichi, in poor health, no longer left his house; an email came early in 2009 announcing his passing. By February 2011, signs in the front yard warned of a possible roof collapse, and rat droppings soiled the tatami inside. One month later, the Great East Japan Earthquake of March 11 caused a portion of the floor to cave in. By October 2012, blue tarp covered the roof and the surrounding garden was overgrown with weeds; wild vegetation also obstructed the path to the commemorative stone monument that was erected in a nearby grove in 1937 to celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of Tokiko's posthumous rank (figure 10.2).

Tokiko's story lives on through the efforts of local volunteers. In 1978 Tokiko memorabilia was displayed at the Katsura Village Industry and Culture Festival.[38] Kurosawa Seiichi and other private citizens contributed some of her personal items, including her school primers, her poetry collections, her stu-

dent rosters, her portrait, and mundane household objects.[39] The following year, the Katsura Village Historical Society put together a special issue of the *Katsura History Bulletin* (*Katsurashi kiyō*) entirely dedicated to Tokiko, crowning her "our village's foremost individual";[40] a second installment was published in 1981. To this day private citizens periodically organize festivals in her honor: on the two-hundred-year anniversary of her birth in 2006, for example, or in 2007 for the centenary of the bestowal of posthumous rank. Local volunteers produce pamphlets about her, and plow through and transcribe her manuscripts with the dedication of consummate academics; the efforts of Ōsawa Toshio (president of the Association in Honor of Kurosawa Tokiko, or Kurosawa Tokiko Kenshōkai) and of Shirosato resident Gotō Norio in this respect are especially noteworthy. On New Year's Day in 2010, *Ibaraki Newspaper* (*Ibaraki shinbun*) broke the news of a movie project based on Tokiko's life as a teacher.[41] Received with great hope for a Tokiko revival, the project ran into financial difficulties, then stalled following the Great East Japan Earthquake of March 11, 2011, and at the time I write has all but been archived.

Recent scholarship on Tokiko is limited and disorienting. Different works emphasize only select aspects of her story, and the picture that emerges is one of a mutilated historical character. In some versions she is a political activist and not much else. For example, the brief chapter of *Mito Pioneers* (*Mito no sendatsu*, 2000) dedicated to Tokiko opens in medias res with the poignant image of a solitary woman appearing on the streets of Kyoto, "where the winds of the Ansei Purges were blowing furiously." From the start, the image of Tokiko this work projects is one of engaged activism. Only after her credentials as a loyalist are established does the entry mention her work as an educator. This brief aside functions as a rhetorical flair better to emphasize the rupture brought about by the events that triggered her foray into loyalism, a foray that occurred despite and against the fact that, "as a woman, she had no business being involved either in national or domain politics."[42]

Elsewhere Tokiko is treated mostly as a woman of letters and an educator. Her entry in the *Biographical Dictionary of Local History: Ibaraki* (*Kyōdo rekishi jinbutsu jiten: Ibaraki,* 1978) opens with these words: "The first female teacher in Japan. The daughter of a Shugendō practitioner. . . . Since her childhood she grew up being exposed to [such primers as] *The Imagawa* and *The Greater Learning [for Women]* among others, for her house had also functioned as a village school for generations." A detailed description of the political landscape of the 1850s follows, leading to a distilled version of Tokiko's adventures in activism: "Intending to proclaim Nariaki's innocence before the imperial court, Tokiko traveled to Kyoto in the second month of 1859. However, she was arrested and,

following a strict investigation, was sentenced to banishment." The entry ends with her return to the classroom and her role as elementary school teacher in the Meiji period.[43]

In Shiba Keiko's *Dictionary of Women's Travel Diaries from the Early Modern Period* (*Kinsei no onna tabi nikki jiten,* 2005), Tokiko matters mostly as the author of a travel diary. Shiba dwells on the fact that Tokiko was a seasoned traveler and revels in such details as the fact that she did not carry a travel permit, that she braved the winter weather, and that she rested her sore body at various hot springs along the way.[44]

Perhaps most bizarre of all is Tokiko's image from Ōga Tetsuo and Takiguchi Yasuhiko's *Talented Women of the Restoration Period* (*Ishinki no saijotachi,* 1980). A widow from a rural village suddenly transformed into a strong-willed heroine, Tokiko is portrayed as a feisty, sword-wielding warrior on the offensive (figure I.1); with her hollow eyes, she appears in an eerie demon-like incarnation, hard to reconcile with the image of a teacher and modern educator.

For all their different narrative choices, these renditions of Tokiko's life have one thing in common: almost nowhere do they give her credit as a religious specialist who applied spiritual and cosmic remedies to political problems, as a mediator who envisioned a synergy between chaos and cosmos.

Like all research projects, this one too had its challenges. The abundance of manuscripts penned by Tokiko has been a blessing. However, relying exclusively on her version of the story presented some problems. For example, in 1875 Tokiko rewrote and edited the diaries of her 1859 trip to Kyoto (*Travel Diary*) and of her incarceration (*Letters from the Kyoto Incarceration*). The benefit of hindsight, coupled with the knowledge that her side would emerge victorious and that she would be honored by the Meiji government (precisely in 1875), unquestionably affected some of her narrative and editorial choices (see chapter 3). I have made every attempt to triangulate her story with other records; in some cases, however, complementary sources simply did not exist.

The diaries themselves shed light only on relatively brief intervals in Tokiko's life, most prominently the years between 1858–1859 and the year 1864. There are poems, letters, and other records written before and after, but the fact remains that entire stretches of her life are left in the dark or are illuminated only by the flickering light of short poems and occasional letters: we know almost nothing about Tokiko's early years as a young bride, and relatively little about her life between the time she was released from prison at the end of 1859 and the onset of the Mito civil war in 1864. Tokiko is silent on momentous, textbook-worthy events like the Restoration, the Meiji-era forced separation of

Figure I.1. Tokiko as a demonic warrior. Ōga Tetsuo and Takiguchi Yasuhiko, eds., *Ishinki no saijotachi* (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1980), 150. *Courtesy of Shōgakukan.*

Shinto deities (*kami*) and buddhas, or the propagation of Western-based ideas of "civilization and enlightenment." We know she became one of the first teachers in the Meiji government's national school system, but she does not write about it directly. For all such reasons, this work harbors no pretense of being Kurosawa Tokiko's definitive biography: like Yourcenar with her sparrow, it can examine only the short interval during which Tokiko's life trajectory neared the light of the fire. Brief as such glimpse may be, it still illuminates a hitherto unknown intersection of small- and large-scale history against the backdrop of late-Tokugawa and early-Meiji Japan.

Incomplete and inconsequential, Tokiko's life story adds a human face to a big moment in time and enables us to tread not only the main avenues but also some of the less known side roads along which such a moment unfolded. From her mountain village on the sidelines of history, Tokiko lived and told a story that illuminates the large and the small, the forest and the trees. And that, for a base-born nobody, is no small feat.

Part I

✳

TOKIKO'S WORLD

1 ✳ A Nest and a Nexus

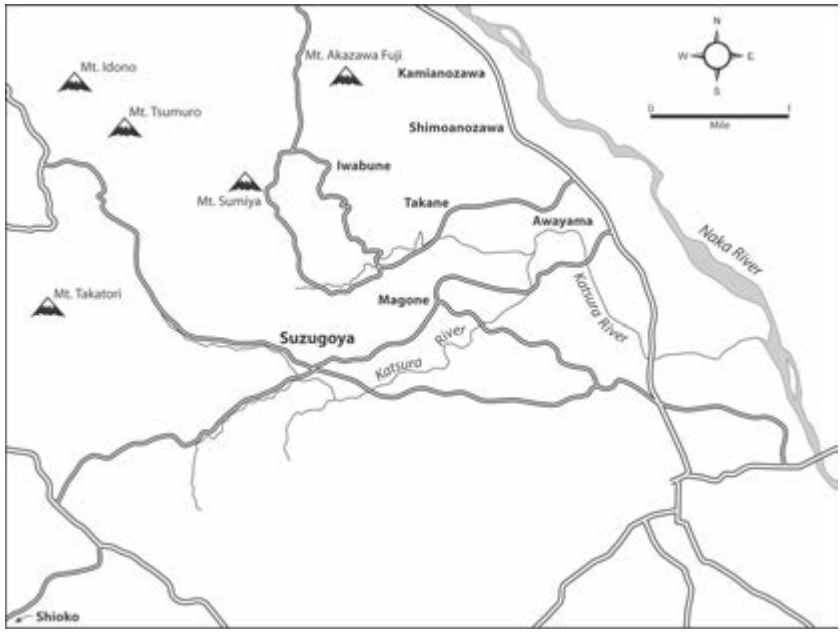
The flight of the sparrow ought to start from the nest. This chapter follows Tokiko's early years as a daughter, bride, mother, peddler, poet in training, tutor, and divination specialist while keeping her native home at the center of the narrative. More than just a descriptive survey of Tokiko's life through the 1850s, this chapter also attempts to situate the individual at the intersection of the small and the large scale. It does so in two ways. The first is by seeing how the choices Tokiko made within her microcosm measured up against the gyrations of history writ large. Inscribing Tokiko's actions against such textbook moments as the Tenpō crisis of the 1830s, the first clash between Tokugawa Nariaki and the shogunate in 1844, or the arrival of Commodore Perry to Japan in 1853 enables us to assess the extent to which events unfolding within the frame of big history impacted (or not) the daily life of the ordinary person. Juxtaposing the wide angle and the close-up brings to light direct correspondences as well as telling divergences between the master narrative and the personal chronicle. What emerges is a richer, sharper, more nuanced picture not only of the historical moment in general but also of the historical actor within his or her microcosm.

The second way in which this chapter places Tokiko at the junction of the large and the small is through an analysis of two distinct niches carved within the sparrow's nest—the school and the Shugendō center. At a basic level these spaces performed a socio-economic function and defined Tokiko's role within the community. In a more abstract sense, as sites where Tokiko squared theoretical principles (as defined in pedagogical treatises or divination manuals) against the demands of "real life," the classroom and the Shugendō center also contributed to defining Tokiko's identity as a mediator between the intangible and the concrete, the cosmic and the mundane. At the end of this chapter Tokiko's native home—her nest—will emerge as more than just a dwelling; it will be a nexus between different scales of magnitude, a space that enabled Tokiko to connect things large and small. Appropriately, it is the starting point for our

Map 1.1. Hitachi Province (modern-day Ibaraki Prefecture) and some of the locations mentioned in this book. *Map by Will Fontanez.*

sparrow's flight into big history. But let us start with the small scale first: let us find the sparrow's nest.

Kurosawa Tokiko was born in the village of Koya (later renamed Suzugoya, now Katsura village, Shirosato town, in Ibaraki Prefecture; map 1.1), Mito domain, on 1806/12/21.[1] Her birth name was Kon; the name Tokiko is a later acquisition. At approximately twenty kilometers (twelve miles) north-



Map 1.2. Suzugoya and surrounding villages. *Map by Will Fontanez.*

west of Mito castle town, Tokugawa-period Suzugoya was an average-size rural community; a source compiled two years before Tokiko's birth lists 116 households.[2] Located on a plateau, Suzugoya is surrounded by hills and low peaks; nearby Mount Takatori, for example, is only 355 meters high (map 1.2). To the north loom the taller mountains of the Yamizo range, including Mount Yamizo, Mount Torinoko, Mount Toriashi, and Mount Tsukuba.[3] In Tokiko's times wild boars, deer, wolves, and monkeys roamed the surrounding forests and groves, occasionally crossing paths with the human population; the people of Suzugoya were familiar with the tale of two local brothers who, in 1783, had killed a wild boar responsible for attacking one of their friends.[4] Despite the occasional run-ins with wildlife, however, life in the hills was by no means brutal, and Tokiko often spoke of her "mountain village" in bucolic terms.

Her native home, nestled amidst bamboo groves (figure 1.1), included a Shugendō center known as the Hōjuin, the Temple of Treasures and Longevity, and a village school (*terakoya*). Such dual function was not uncommon: in rural areas, Shugendō practitioners, local doctors, and clergy often doubled as teachers. At a time when most common people were barely literate, running a

Figure 1.1. Tokiko's native home in 2007. *Photo by author.*

school and a religious center would have placed Tokiko's family in one of the top tiers of local society.

While both teaching and divination would form a substantial part of Tokiko's life, one cannot credit her father, Masakichi[5]—a teacher and Shugendō priest (*yamabushi*)—as her role model, for when she was two (three by Japanese counting) he divorced Tokiko's mother and left. Tokiko was raised by her mother, Fusako (1787–1871), and by her grandfather, Kissō (1758–1821). Kissō was the third man in the family to run the school, which had been founded by his uncle Senmei (1705–1781) in the 1750s and had then been run by his father (Tokiko's great-grandfather), Gen'eki (1718–1792).[6] It was Kissō who guided and shaped Tokiko's intellectual growth, introducing her to such primers as *The Imagawa, Teaching the Words of Truth* (*Jitsugokyō*), and *The Greater Learning for Women* (*Onna daigaku*).[7]

At age nineteen, in 1824, Tokiko (or Kon, as she was still called) married Kamoshida Hikozō (or Genzō) Masatoki (n.d.) and moved to Kojima village (modern-day Kanasagō; see map 1.1). That same year a foreign vessel landed on the coast of Ōtsu. Several other such ships had recently been spotted off the

Mito shore, prompting concerns about espionage, the "return" of Christianity, and foreign encroachment in general: "Pretending to be hunting whales," wrote one observer, "they anchor off the coast or come near to the land, in order to spy out our country. . . . Our people who approach their ships and are tempted to believe in their religion, are greatly to be pitied."[8] The vessel that landed in Ōtsu was in fact a British whaler in need of supplies, but it came to be seen as the forefront of a possible foreign invasion.[9] While the debate raged and criticism against the weakness of the domain's coastal defense program spread, in Kojima the young bride Kon spent her days tilling the land. Within a few years she would give birth to two daughters, Kumeko, in 1827, and Teruko, in 1830.

Her married life coincided in part with the early tenure of Tokugawa Nariaki (1800–1860, r. 1829–1844) as lord of Mito domain. A ruler with a penchant for strict sumptuary laws, Nariaki required his retainers to shun silk and wear cotton and to refrain from such frivolous activities as playing music, performing the tea ceremony, or engaging in the art of flower arrangement.[10] Young women of the warrior class were to devote themselves to sewing, weaving, and training with the *naginata* (a type of halberd).[11] Though restrictive, these measures had no immediate impact on Kon's life, for she was not of samurai stock. In the early years of Nariaki's reign, Kon's preoccupations centered not on the choice between cotton and silk or on the threat of foreign invasion but on the difficulties involved in raising two daughters and attending to a husband who, as some scholars have speculated, was prone to drinking and squandering money.[12]

Hikozō died in the early 1830s—the exact year is a matter of debate.[13] After his death, Kon left Kojima and, with her daughters, returned to her native home in Koya. The elder, Kumeko, was betrothed to another member of the Kamoshida clan, but after he became ill and died, all relations between the Kurosawa and the Kamoshida families ended. With old ties severed and her marital life over, Kon prepared for a new beginning; she marked the transition by acquiring the name Tokiko.[14] In the uncharted road ahead, Koya offered a familiar territory and a safe haven. Returning to the nest made sense.

Koya was known for its tin ore. Deposits were discovered in the late sixteenth century and first excavated in 1631; smelting began shortly thereafter.[15] Mito lord Tokugawa Mitsukuni visited the local mines in 1663;[16] in 1834 Nariaki also came to the area and inspected the local production. By then, however, the business was in decline; the mines would be shut down during the final years of the Tokugawa period. Still, Nariaki must have been impressed by what he saw, or must have thought of a publicity stunt aimed at boosting a

struggling industry, for after his visit he requested the word *suzu* (tin) be added to the name of the village to honor the local economy. Only a few years after Tokiko relocated there, Koya thus became Suzugoya.[17]

Tokiko's life as a widow and as the sole caretaker for her aging mother and young daughters began at a difficult time: the Tenpō era. Corresponding to the 1830s and early 1840s, the Tenpō years witnessed crop failures, famines, and disease outbreaks in several regions, Mito included. In 1837 merchant Tokushuku Tajurō of Awayama, near Suzugoya (see map 1.2), captured the general misery with these words:

> From Shirakawa all the way to Nasu [in modern-day Tochigi Prefecture, north of Ibaraki] there have been poor harvests for two, three years, and on top of that the spreading of a contagion since last year. As a result people—men and women—are eating tree roots and plant seeds; their faces are pale, their bodies exhausted to the extreme. Gardens are overgrown with weeds and the dilapidated homes are a pitiful sight. Since the end of last year, not only beggars and outcasts, as one would expect, but also peasants have been dropping dead along the roads. The dead are so numerous that village officials cannot properly take care of all [the bodies].[18]

To history writ large intruding into her microcosm and to collective miseries overlapping with personal losses, Tokiko responded by reinventing herself: not only did she change her name, she also began what would become an almost decade-long stint as a peddler, often traveling to other provinces to sell combs and ornamental hairpins.

Made out of necessity and in the context of a widespread crisis, Tokiko's choice came with unexpected personal benefits. Her peregrinations put her in touch with regional literati who helped her hone her poetic skills. Starting in the 1830s, Tokiko began writing Chinese and Japanese poetry. In the following decade she learned haikai from Obana An of Ōta (in modern-day Ibaraki, map 1.1), a follower of the Bashō school, and from Kangiku An of Shimodate (also in Ibaraki, map 1.1).[19] Beginning in 1833 she received tutoring in comical verses (*kyōka*) from Ryokuju-en (a.k.a., Kobayashi Heishichi) of Edozaki (in southern Ibaraki, map 1.1), a disciple of Ōta Nanpo and Yadoya no Meshimori. She also practiced classical poetry (the thirty-one syllable *waka*) with Katōgi Shunzō of Magone (near Suzugoya, map 1.2), with Morita Yoshio of Shimōsa Province, and with Kojima Harutaka (or Shunson), an itinerant Shinto priest from faraway Iwate, in the northern Tōhoku region.[20] (Tokiko never peddled her hairpins that far north; she probably met Kojima while he was visit-

ing the Mito area, though she does not elaborate on the point.) As she traveled to sell small commodities, Tokiko thus established a network of poetic connections that stretched across multiple provinces of northeastern Japan.

It is not inconceivable that a traveling peddler would interact with the literati. In her study of late-eighteenth-century intellectual circles, Anna Beerens demonstrates how a person's source of income, though important, did not affect his or her ability to forge connections. What mattered was the existence of common interests, be that painting, poetry, or the tea ceremony. Moreover, "employment" was a fluid notion, and career changes—whether dictated by choice or circumstances—were the norm.[21] Likewise, Takeshi Moriyama makes a compelling case for the extent and liveliness of information exchange networks in the late Tokugawa period. Using the case of Echigo Province village elder Suzuki Bokushi (1770–1842), whose contact list included such celebrity writers as Jippensha Ikku, Santō Kyōden, and Ōta Nanpo, Moriyama shows how even rural residents partook in circles that stretched far and wide between urban centers and the peripheries.[22] That a traveling peddler with a thirst for poetry would be able to weave a network of inter- and intra-provincial contacts with like-minded individuals was, therefore, entirely possible.

Like all men and women of letters, Tokiko was familiar with the classics of Japanese literature as well as with works from the Chinese tradition. In her writings we find references to the tenth-century poetry collection *Kokinshū,* to *The Book of Songs,* and to odes by Chinese emperors of old.[23] She continued to look for sources of intellectual fulfillment throughout her life; in a poem from 1857, for example, she mused (perhaps ironically):

Morokoshi no	As I learn
hijiri no michi o	the way of the
manabitsutsu	Chinese men of virtue, I wonder:
yamatogokoro ni	will it carry over
utsushite shi kana	into a Japanese heart?[24]

Though evidence for her erudition transpires more clearly in the works she composed decades after her stint as a traveling peddler, it is fair to assume that such works are the result of the appetite for knowledge she nourished in her earlier interactions with the regional literati.

In the 1840s another man entered Tokiko's world: Sukenobu Hōin (or Shinsuke), whom the Kurosawa family took in as an adopted heir (*muko*) in 1839. Depending on the source, Sukenobu is described as either Tokiko's second husband or as her stepfather. Tokiko's own diaries never mention a new husband, but the documents produced by the Tokugawa authorities at the time of her

arrest refer to her as Shinsuke's wife. Similarly, the proclamation with which she was conferred a land grant in the early Meiji period addresses her as the "wife of the late Kurosawa Nobusuke" (meaning Sukenobu).[25] Hōin is a religious title; Sukenobu was affiliated with the Nansōin in Naka district, a Shugendō center under the same administration as the Hōjuin. He took charge of the Shugendō facility, which had been inactive since the death of Tokiko's grandfather in 1821, and of the school, where he served as its fourth teacher.

Sukenobu's arrival coincided with the wave of anti-Buddhist reforms that swept through Mito domain in the 1830s and 1840s: Buddhist funerals were prohibited, statues and bells were confiscated, children were forbidden from studying in temples, and the erection of roadside Buddhist monuments was outlawed. The reforms also caused the closure of many Shugendō centers, for the spiritual power of the *yamabushi* threatened the domain's vision of order. The same reforms also targeted oracles and diviners, whose practices the domain deemed uncontrollable.[26] It is unclear how and to what extent these policies affected the Kurosawa family, for Tokiko unfortunately is silent on the issue. In any case, the Hōjuin weathered the storm, and Sukenobu Hōin remained in Suzugoya for a number of years.

Besides running the family's businesses, Sukenobu further introduced Tokiko to the joys of Japanese and Chinese verses.[27] Her mother, Fusako, was no stranger to poetry-making either, so Tokiko had an opportunity to flex her poetic muscle at home as much as she did on the road.[28] This was Tokiko's life in the 1840s: pursuing her education, working to support her family, raising her daughters, and forming local and long-distance bonds based on common interests.

In the fifth month of 1844, Mito domain was jolted by the abrupt resignation of the lord Nariaki, followed by his first stint in home confinement as a punishment for his unorthodox reforms. The exact reasons behind Nariaki's clash with the Edo government may have escaped those who were not involved with the high spheres of politics, but one would be remiss to write off the commoners of Mito domain as oblivious to the ongoing political strife. News of Nariaki's fall spread fast: then magistrate Kaneko Magojirō put out a circular announcing the punishment and ordering that everyone in the domain show dejection for the lord's fate by refraining from talking in a loud voice, from enjoying communal activities, or from "taking lives" (i.e., hunting and fishing).[29] The diary of merchant Tokushuku Tajurō from Awayama shows how widely and quickly the news traveled. Five days after the punishment was meted out, Tajurō wrote: "Today the news has come that the Middle Councilor [Nariaki] . . . was ordered to withdraw into the Komagome residence [in Edo]. . . . Rumor has

it that [his son] Tsuruchiyo [Yoshiatsu] will inherit the household."[30] Given Awayama's proximity to Suzugoya (map 1.2), one can assume Tokiko heard similar rumors.

As the news spread, many organized an "exculpation movement" (*setsuen undō*) to defend Nariaki. Far from being confined to Mito castle town, the movement spread throughout the rural areas as well. People from all walks of life joined in the call for Nariaki's release. Some appealed to the local tutelary deities; Tokushuku Tajurō, for example, reports:

> 1844/9/8: Pilgrimage to Shizu Shrine. Since the third of this month, [people] have been offering prayers there for the lord [Yoshiatsu's] prolonged fortunes in war and for a quick and lenient conclusion to the Middle Councilor's [i.e., Nariaki's] [ordeal]. . . . Awayama Shrine and Iwabune Shrine are offering prayers for three days, until the ninth.

He also added that similar prayers were being intoned at Kashima Shrine—referring to the tutelary deity of Takane village (map 1.2) and not to the more famous Kashima Shrine, home to the earthquake-quelling Kashima god, which is further south in modern-day Ibaraki.[31]

While many were busy asking the gods for assistance, others took a more practical approach, delivering petitions for Nariaki's release to the Edo residences of government officials and domain lords. One of Tokiko's fellow villagers, Takaba Gihei, delivered his petition to the Aizu residence;[32] Katōgi Toyo and her son Shunzō (Shōzō, 1815–1893), from Magone village, near Suzugoya, brought their pleas to the Kii residence.[33] While collective prayers in rural shrines may not have warranted the attention of the Edo authorities, presenting unauthorized petitions to the gates of government officials most certainly did. As Watanabe Hiroshi explains, such acts bespoke defiance and disrespect, a behavior the Tokugawa considered threatening.[34] Nariaki was eventually freed from home confinement later that year, but the strife would only increase.

Tokiko had no way of knowing that her destiny would one day resemble that of these early activists. Busy as she was making ends meet and taking care of her family, she may not have had the opportunity to mull over the news, though she almost certainly became aware of emerging political tensions in her domain. In the meantime, her life went on, taking its own turns.

Attesting to the fluidity of career choices in nineteenth-century Japan, Tokiko gradually phased off her activities as a peddler and made the transition to tutoring. In 1851 she was hired to tutor the grandson and daughter of the

retired head of the Kikuya family in Kusatsu (modern-day Gunma Prefecture). She held the appointment for about six months. In the second month of 1852 she moved on to a tutoring position in Shioko (now Nanakai, map 1.2).[35] The class roster from this time lists the names of her students as well as the gifts they brought her.[36]

Tokiko was in Shioko when, in the eleventh month of 1852, Tokugawa Nariaki was welcomed back to Edo castle for the first time since 1844, bringing his first clash with the Tokugawa government to a conclusion.[37] She was still in Shioko on 1853/6/3, when Commodore Perry's fleet entered Uraga Bay to request the opening of trade relations with the United States. Perry would return early in 1854 to demand an answer (in the positive) to his request.

All traditional narratives of the Restoration agree that the arrival of Perry's ships and the signing of the Treaty of Kanagawa, with which Japan made ample concessions to the United States, are among the milestones in the path that led to the fall of the Tokugawa. Harootunian, for example, identifies shogunal councilor Abe Masahiro's decision to consult with the emperor and with the domain lords on issues of foreign policy after Perry's arrival as the moment that forever altered the nature of Tokugawa political discourse. By acting against established precedent, Abe created a fracture through which an alternative vision of order emerged, one anchored on the return to direct imperial authority. In 1854, argues Harootunian, the figure of the emperor made the transition from "principle" (which is to say, abstract and aloof) to "principal"—a true leader.[38]

References to the arrival of foreign barbarians are commonplace in Tokiko's later writings, but as far as she was concerned, the year 1854 coincided with a different kind of momentous change—one that originated not within the frame of history writ large but in the contained space of her microcosm. In the fall of 1854 Sukenobu Hōin took ill and returned to his native home, where he died the following year. His departure meant that Tokiko, who had by then established her credentials as a tutor, could take charge of the school annexed to her house. She thus gave up the tutoring job she had retaken in Kusatsu since the fifth month of 1854, returned to Suzugoya, and became the first female member of the Kurosawa family to run the school.

Tokiko's appropriation of a business hitherto run by men was not as unusual as one may think: educated women in nineteenth-century Japan often worked as teachers and could inherit schools founded by their male relatives.[39] In this respect, her experience may exemplify Edoardo Grendi's concept of the "exceptional/normal" (*eccezionale/normale*). The sources of microhistory, Grendi argues, are exceptional in that they often reveal a normalcy that, precisely for its being ordinary, tends to be dismissed and forgotten. By impelling us to include the "normal," however, microhistory nuances the picture.[40] In its being

relatively commonplace, Tokiko's choice also reminds us that historical characters large and small did not live their lives either entirely in the shade and on the margins, or entirely center stage and in the limelight. Rather, like Yourcenar's sparrow, they moved in and out of the light, engaging in that which was exceptional as much as in that which was ordinary and often inconsequential.

To be clear, there are many episodes in the life of Kurosawa Tokiko that are truly extraordinary, that do clash against the main narrative and impel us to reconsider it, even to rewrite it. But the point here is different. Whether she responded with exceptional inventiveness or whether she followed standard patterns in the face of change, what matters is that Tokiko placed her own value on what are generally treated as equally relevant textbook moments in the history of the late Tokugawa—the Tenpō crisis, the Nariaki exculpation movement, the arrival of Perry. She adapted her life trajectory in response to large-scale historical events and to small-scale personal circumstances in ways that invite us to reevaluate the reach and impact of the traditional turning points of historical narratives by measuring them against the experience of the single individual.

With the Shugendō center, the classroom was one of the places where Tokiko first became conscious of, and nurtured, her role as a mediator between things large and small, near and far. It is from within these spaces that Tokiko defined her identity and her role in the community, and it is from within these spaces that she developed a sense of her standing at the intersection of the abstract and the practical, of the village and the heavens. When she cast herself as the intermediary between chaos and cosmos in 1859, Tokiko was applying a lesson she had learned precisely within her own nest.

TEACHING: THE ABSTRACT AND THE PRACTICAL

The school Tokiko inherited was not a high-level domain academy but a simple "temple school," or *terakoya*. As the name indicates, such entry-level facilities catered to the neighborhood children whose families had registered with the local temple, as required by law. Unlike domain academies, temple schools enrolled mostly children of the commoner class. The kind of training they offered depended on the individual teachers but rarely went beyond the basics.[41] Despite its modest ambitions, the school enabled Tokiko to define her role as a member of her community; more importantly, it became the place where she honed her ability to reconcile the abstract and the practical—the beautiful but sometimes unattainable pedagogical goals of her instruction manuals and the tangible aspects of being an educator, including temper tantrums, snow days, and the bottom line.

The main sources that give us a glimpse of Tokiko's activities in the classroom are *Diary of Ansei 5* (*Ansei gonen nikkichō*) and *Priceless Record of Daily Necessities* (*Nichiyō chōhōki*). The first covers the period between 1858/7/1 and 9/18 (corresponding to August 9–October 24, 1858), and the second begins on 1858/9/19 and ends on 12/28 (October 25, 1858–January 31, 1859). Aside from revealing what life was like in the school, these diaries also shed light on Tokiko's economic and social worlds; they are records of incomes and expenditures as much as maps of human interactions and personal networks. Consisting of lengthy lists of household chores, tales of the daily grind, as well as snapshots of gossip, social engagements, and commemorations of joyous moments, they are the quintessential sources of microhistory.

At the time Tokiko took charge in 1854, the school enrolled sixteen students, including two girls.[42] Coed tutoring was common; in neighboring Takane (map 1.2), for example, the school run by Takayama Munenobu also enrolled boys and girls from the village as well as from nearby Magone and Iwabune.[43] In Suzugoya, the change in leadership and in the gender of the instructor did not affect the popularity of the Kurosawa school, which enrolled more than eighty students between 1854 and 1859.[44] The class rosters indicate that they hailed not only from Suzugoya but also from the nearby communities of Magone, Kosaka, Shioko, and Fukuhara.[45] Tokiko meticulously took note of early arrivals and no-shows.[46] Attendance rates fluctuated widely; sometimes just two students showed up, and at other times as many as nineteen crammed into the small classroom (figure 1.2).[47]

The entries in Tokiko's diaries also shed light on her teaching methods and curriculum. On most days teaching took place in the morning; afternoon classes were a noteworthy exception. Reading practice focused on poetry and covered various writing styles: square, semi-cursive, and "grass."[48] The curriculum followed a seasonal pattern: in the twelfth month, for example, students learned to compose greetings for the New Year.[49] Such a practical approach was common to late-Tokugawa rural teachers and served to integrate the needs of education with the life of the community. In Ono village (Shinano Province), teacher Ozawa Watoku (1796–1869) organized his schedule around the ritual and agricultural calendars: the school year ended on 12/20 and resumed on 1/21, after the New Year hiatus. Attendance in the classroom tended to ebb and flow accordingly, peaking in the slack season between the eleventh month and the end of the third. Watoku also collected his fees around the ritual calendar, specifically at Obon (the Festival of the Dead in the summer) and the New Year.[50]

To understand more about Tokiko's pedagogical principles, we need to browse through her personal library, which included two manuals she had

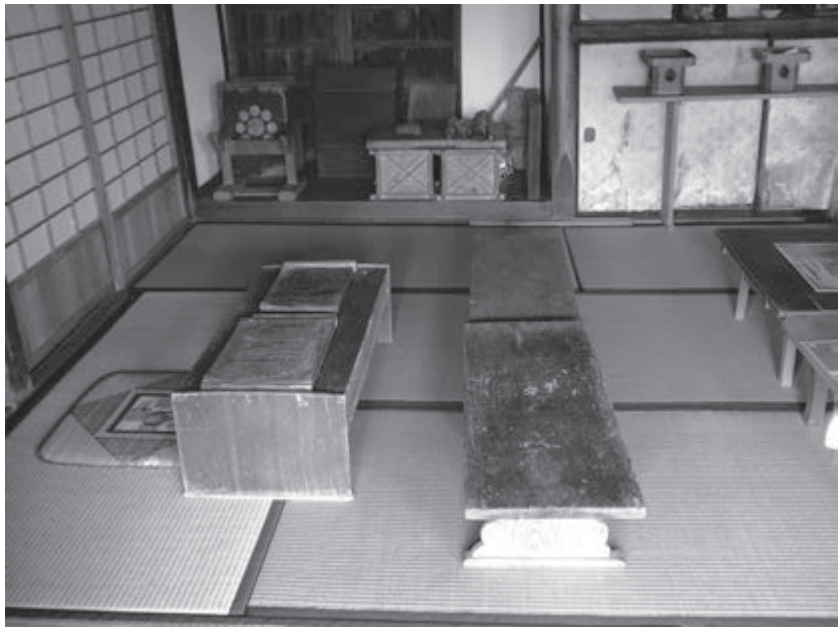


Figure 1.2. The classroom annexed to Tokiko's house as seen in 2007. *Photo by author.*

copied early in her tutoring days: *The Wheel of Teaching* (*Oshieguruma*) and *Rules for Learning* (*Tenarai shikimoku*).[51] Though not her own works, it is reasonable to infer that Tokiko copied them because she agreed with the advice they dispensed.

Both manuals emphasize the social importance of education. *The Wheel of Teaching* opens with a stern exhortation for parents to educate their children, for without an education children will grow into adults who have "no knowledge of any character, do not know how to do calculations, and have neither wits nor [sound] judgment."[52] Like an unpolished jewel that does not shine,[53] says *The Wheel of Teaching,* so the human spirit requires learning to reach its splendor. Similarly, *Rules for Learning* begins with the declaration that no person can live his or her life without writing, for that would be tantamount to blindness, not to mention an embarrassment for the teacher and the parents, and a disgrace for the individual in question.[54]

The best education, add the manuals, is one that covers all the bases. Writing skills are especially important, but the primers also encourage students to practice with the abacus and to perfect whichever vocation they find inspiring, be it poetry or cooking, archery or theater, music or the martial arts. The

essential point, one that *The Wheel of Teaching* makes more than once, is to bear in mind one's station in life (*kagyō,* "occupation") and to act accordingly. *The Wheel of Teaching* specifically (and pedantically) indicates that occupations include samurai, farmer, artisan, or merchant.[55]

Learning also requires obedience and proper manners. *The Wheel of Teaching* is a regurgitation of Confucian platitudes, most prominently invitations to show filial respect toward one's parents, devotion to one's master, and loyalty toward one's friends.[56] Unacceptable behavior—what *The Wheel of Teaching* calls the "bad habits" (*kuse*) of children—includes being unreliable, unruly, and foul-mouthed, making up excuses to dodge chores, interrupting, scribbling on walls, fighting, and rolling in the mud. *Rules for Learning* echoes these preoccupations with its own list of dos and don'ts: chatting, dozing off, or chewing paper, for example, "is the stuff of scoundrels."[57]

Finally, the manuals outline the great benefits of education. Extending well beyond personal gratification, they include honor to one's family and even rewards from the heavens. Those who attain mastery in their art will "receive divine protection. Their posterity will prosper and they will safely enjoy the pleasures of old age right before their eyes; the social standing of their household will last for thousands of years."[58]

This was the theory. Reality in the classroom, however, was a different thing altogether. All exhortations to obedience notwithstanding, discipline was often lacking ("Nakanoya Minekichi got in a bad mood and threw a tantrum," writes Tokiko).[59] Rambunctious behavior sometimes carried over outside the classroom. On the day one of her students fell into a nearby creek, Tokiko perhaps recalled the words of *The Wheel of Teaching,* which listed among the bad habits of children their taking advantage of outings to "run into the rivers and fields."[60] Maybe she had in mind *Rules for Learning,* which criticized all activities that could result in injury, including climbing on the sides of moats and rivers, as "most unfilial."[61] Or maybe she just shrugged the incident off as a case of reality versus principles. As R. P. Dore reminds us, teachers in village schools knew that enforcing perfect discipline was unrealistic and were in fact sympathetic to the students for having to conform to the impossibly strict standards of education manuals.[62] Tokiko was doubtless a thoughtful teacher, but it is also true that on more than one occasion, when reality failed to conform to theory, her patience ran out, and in the pages of her diaries she vented by calling some of her more undisciplined students "bad," "idiots," and "annoying."[63]

Despite such occasional outbursts, Tokiko was a compassionate teacher, attending to her students almost like a mother. She cared for the ones who were sick and strove to create a comfortable learning environment. One day she brought rice cakes to the classroom; on a snowy day in the winter, realizing

that her students were shivering, she lit the stove and eventually sent them home early.[64]

The school was also a source of income and identity. *Diary of Ansei 5* and *Priceless Record of Daily Necessities* double as accounting books, tracking as they do earnings and expenditures. Students paid a monthly tuition and chipped in for supplies.[65] Tuition was collected in advance, around the end of one month for the following one, though exceptions were possible: one student, for instance, paid his dues for both the tenth and eleventh months on 11/15.[66] Tokiko displayed a pragmatic degree of flexibility not only with regard to the timing of the payments but also to the amounts, with some students paying 120 *mon* and others two hundred. Oftentimes tuition included a combination of cash and rice, usually one or two *shō* (one *shō* corresponds to 1.9 quarts, or 1.8 liters).[67] Seeing that the fees differed from student to student, Anzō Ryōko suggests that Tokiko took into account each family's financial situation.[68] This ensured the popularity of her school and, more importantly, its survival. R. P. Dore, however, has a different explanation for the variations in tuition fees: even at the village level, he argues, teaching was such a respected occupation that for an instructor to put a price tag on learning would have been undignified. Rather, the parents paid a fee they saw as commensurate with the teacher's benevolence in educating their child. The differences in fees may thus indicate varying degrees of social standing and prestige.[69]

Aside from paying tuition, Tokiko's students brought her gifts in the form of seasonal food items and helped her collect and store firewood. They also lent her a hand in plowing the fields and working in the garden and thereby contributed to a source of supplemental income, for, as the diaries show, Tokiko also sold some of her produce.[70] Between the school and the sale of produce Tokiko earned enough to make a living and even to lend money: the Kurosawa Family Records at Ibaraki University, for example, include the receipt for a five *ryō* loan signed by a certain Mimura Shōji[bei] and dated 1858/8.[71] Tokiko also mentions that in the ninth month of 1858 her landlord came to borrow money from her for an upcoming trip to Edo.[72] The school thus enabled Tokiko to gauge theory against reality while at the same time providing a basis for her dealings with the neighboring community.

BETWEEN VILLAGE AND HIGH HEAVENS: DIVINATION ON DEMAND

Aside from the school, a second business thrived under the Kurosawa roof: the Shugendō center known as the Hōjuin. A syncretic system that originated in the ninth or tenth century and became popularized in the late medieval

period, Shugendō combines Buddhist principles, shamanism, Daoism, and Shinto.[73] It is based on the premise that the human world and the world of the gods are interlocked and that travel between the two is possible, though not for everyone. As Carmen Blacker points out, crossing over from one world to the next entails "a rupture of level, a break in ontological plane";[74] for this reason, most ordinary men and women are powerless to do so. Shugendō adepts, however, train specifically for this purpose. For them to access the realm of the gods and spirits, the presence of a "bridge" is necessary. Such a bridge often takes the form of a sacred peak—hence the common designation of Shugendō as "mountain religion." While each mountain over time developed its distinctive set of practices, there are sufficient commonalities in rituals and beliefs that one can speak of a general "Shugendō culture."[75]

In Tokiko's day and age both men and women could become Shugendō adepts, but there were differences in what they could perform and achieve. Male practitioners, known as *shugenja* or *yamabushi,* entered sacred mountains and engaged in ascetic practices such as sitting under cold waterfalls or enduring sleep deprivation and strict dietary restrictions. In doing so, they attained an altered state of consciousness and were able to cross the bridge between this world and the world of the gods and spirits. Women were generally precluded from accessing sacred peaks, or were allowed to go up only to a certain point, but not beyond it. Their contribution to Shugendō culture took a different form. Like their male counterparts, female practitioners, known as *miko,* also enabled a connection between the human world and the other world, but while the *yamabushi* physically crossed into the sphere of the sacred, the *miko* stayed put, so to speak—they worked as mediums and invited the spirits to come to the world of humans, turning themselves into the vessels through which the deities would speak.[76]

Another way in which the Shugendō adepts mediated between the two worlds was through divination. Early modern divination took many forms, including geomancy, oneiromancy (the interpretation of dreams), astrology, numerology, and physiognomy. Not all of these practices were viewed positively by the educated elites, and not all of them were the province of Shugendō practitioners. Their rich variety, however, attests to the importance that early modern individuals vested on the ability to communicate with the divine. In the rural villages of early modern Japan in particular, prognostication was big business: oracles predicting crop yields, sickness, impending catastrophes, or weather patterns had the power to point entire communities in certain directions and steer them away from others; the words of a diviner could determine endings and beginnings, sanction enterprises or nip them in the bud, even support the decision to conceive a child or to resolve that a newborn should not live.[77]

Because fortunes and misfortunes were believed to originate in the sphere of the sacred, Shugendō practitioners performed a key social function, being the ones with the tools to invite the former and deflect the latter.

On a day-to-day basis Shugendō facilities also catered to an assortment of practical requests from the villagers, from healing rituals to rites of passage, from exorcisms to funerals. Lastly, as Kanda Yoriko has shown in her study of the Rikuchū region, inviting a *miko* to one's home could be an excuse for the women of the village to gather together and forge personal bonds.[78] Wherever they existed, in short, Shugendō centers played a pivotal role in the religious and social life of the community.[79]

The Hōjuin also served the Suzugoya community by supporting its mining industry: a source produced in or after the mid-1880s indicates that the Shugendō center of the Kurosawa family was charged with honoring the tutelary gods of the local mines.[80] As Tanigawa Ken'ichi explains, there existed a deep connection between Shugendō and the mining industry, for most mines were located in the mountains, and mountains were the stomping grounds of the *yamabushi*.[81] According to Gorai Shigeru, the association between Shugendō and mines was also the result of Daoist influences, namely the Daoist sages' belief that immortality could be obtained by drinking elixirs that contained mercury.[82] Given the relevance of tin ore in Suzugoya (a place that owed its name to tin), such convergence of religious and economic factors would have emphasized the role of the Hōjuin in the local economic fabric.

Like all religious organizations, Shugendō evolved over time. By Tokiko's day and age Shugendō was split into two main sectarian branches: the Honzan sect, whose head temple was the Shōgoin in Kyoto and which followed the precepts of Tendai Buddhism, and the Tōzan sect, which had strong affiliations with Shingon Buddhism and whose headquarters were at the Sanbōin in Kyoto. The divide had not always existed. Around the fifteenth century *yamabushi* began referring to either the Sōgōin or the Sanbōin as their main temples, but it was not until the mid-sixteenth century that the two groups acquired the distinct names of Tōzan and Honzan; the difference was then codified under the Tokugawa. By the eighteenth century the relevant texts indicated on a consistent basis a clear sense of affiliation.[83]

In Mito, Tōzan and Honzan facilities had coexisted for a long time; a survey taken in the 1660s indicates that, at the time, more than half of the *yamabushi* in the domain identified with either one or the other. Honzan adherents were for the most part based in and around Mito castle town and tended to spread out along the coastal routes, while Tōzan practitioners tended to aggregate along the Tanakura and Motegi roads (map 2.1). The fan-shaped area enclosed between these two roads also included Tokiko's native village.[84] The same

document that describes the Hōjuin as the tutelary shrine of the mine gods also indicates that the facility belonged to the Tōzan branch.

Tokiko's exact role in the Hōjuin is unclear. Although it was common practice for the wives, daughters, mothers, or sisters of the *yamabushi* to inherit the practices and to serve as *miko* independently from any shrine affiliation,[85] the records are mum as to whether Tokiko ever ran the facility. Moreover, she never uses the word *miko* to describe herself. In any case, we know she played a role as a spiritual figure in Suzugoya by performing divination sessions in which she used the hexagrams from *The Book of Changes* (Ch. *Yijing,* Jp. *Ekikyō*) to forecast the future. (In a hexagram, a combination of six solid and broken lines represents one of sixty-four possible configurations of yang and yin forces in the universe, providing a key to understanding cosmic patterns that affect the world of humans at various levels, from the political to the physiological.)

Interest in *The Book of Changes* had peaked during the Tokugawa period, and the book ranked among the most influential Chinese texts. The availability of punctuated versions contributed to its popularization: by the nineteenth century its readership also included the lower classes.[86] Aspiring fortunetellers could also count on introductory texts to divination and "Cliffs Notes" versions of *The Book of Changes*, as in *The Basics of Divination: Master Arai's Secret Text* (*Ekidō uimanabi Arai sensei himitsu no sho,* 1842; figure 7.1). A pocketsize booklet written in easy-to-read kana script and mass-produced using woodblocks, this "secret text" was in fact anything but exclusive and esoteric.

Next to educational primers Tokiko's library would have thus included a selection of divination manuals: *The Book of Changes,* of course, but also the *All Important Aspects of the Whistling Arrow* (*Hikime no daijizen*), a manual on the proper way to utter healing incantations.[87] As Carmen Blacker points out, bows and arrows were traditional instruments of the *miko,* who plucked the string to cajole the gods and used the bow as a vessel for the spirits to descend into the world of humans. Arrows were shot to alert the gods that a ceremony was about to begin; whistling arrows could also be used to drive away evil spirits.[88] Tokiko may have also been acquainted with a number of other divination manuals widely available at the time, such as *The Bamboo Basket Tradition* (*Hokiden*) or the *Excerpts from Assorted Books on Yin and Yang* (*Onmyō zassho nukigaki*). Dating to the medieval period and transmitted by provincial *yamabushi* families, both had become available in printed form in the Tokugawa period and were popular with Shugendō practitioners.

Consulted in the course of divination sessions, these manuals enabled the *yamabushi* to establish auspicious and inauspicious days and to forecast crop

yields, wars, upheavals, or weather patterns. A typical entry in *The Bamboo Basket Tradition,* for example, would read:

> If the first day of the first month [New Year] corresponds to the fifth or sixth sign of the Chinese calendar, then the first, second, and third months [will bring] rain and wind; in the seventh month the people will be stricken with disease and the sun will scorch [the earth]. If, in the midst of this, a black cloud were to appear, it would be most auspicious.[89]

Tokiko's *Diary of Ansei 5* records divination sessions on 1858/8/26, 9/6, and 9/16, even including drawings of the hexagrams she interpreted (figure 1.3). Unfortunately, there is no record of the specific methods she used to select them. In ancient China, prognostication with *The Book of Changes* was performed by using yarrow stalks or coins to configure a hexagram; in ancient Japan oracles placed a deer shoulder bone over an open flame and examined the cracks that appeared. By Tokiko's time, however, using bamboo sticks or drawing lots was the norm.[90] Tokiko also says little of the resulting interpretations, possibly because she simply relied on the explanations of *The Book of Changes* without adding much of her own. (She provides more detail about the reading of the hexagrams in her 1864 diary, as we will see in chapter 7.)

Tokiko also offered healing incantations on demand. The evidence, in this case, is scarcer, but we know from one of her diaries that on 1858/8/7 a young woman from Magone came to the Hōjuin. "She asked for an incantation," writes

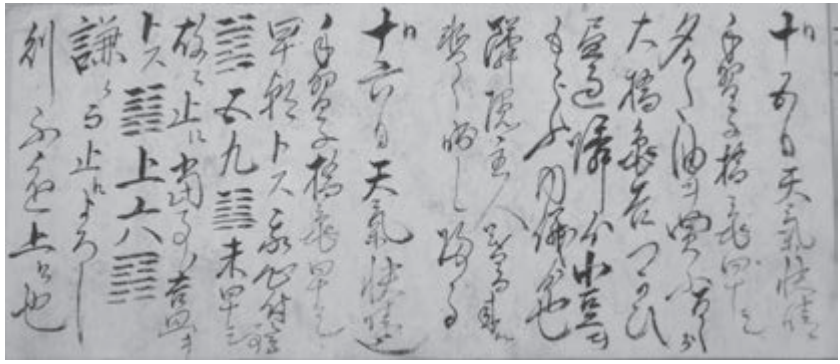


Figure 1.3. Hexagrams for the divination session of 1858/9/16 from Tokiko's *Diary of Ansei 5:* No. 29 (Pitfalls), No. 7 (the Army), No. 15 (Modesty), and No. 52 (Keeping Still). *Photo by Gotō Norio. Courtesy of Ibaraki Kenritsu Rekishikan.*

Tokiko. "I recited one for the cooper, [who had gotten] a splinter."[91] It is difficult to determine whether this was an isolated episode or whether Tokiko performed such rituals on a regular basis, for she does not mention other instances in which she provided healing incantations. It is possible that she received no other requests in the short months covered in her diary, or that, as other educated people did in her day and age, she ranked such apotropaic services a step below hexagram-based prognostication—and only accommodated the request for an incantation on this one occasion. (The silence in her later works is easier to explain: the diaries of her life in 1859 were edited in 1875, at a time when such activities would have been considered most un-modern and when Tokiko was trying to establish her legacy as a political figure, not as a ritualist.)

Tokiko's diaries do not mention any remuneration for these kinds of services, though receiving payments or, at a minimum, gifts would not have been unusual. In his autobiography, rascal samurai Katsu Kokichi (1802–1850) for example, admits to having used incantations as a source of income.[92] Tokiko's reluctance to record any income generated by the readings of the hexagrams may be attributable to ongoing disputes about who held the monopoly on divination. An imperial order issued in 1683 had granted the Tsuchimikado family sole control over yin-yang divination. A 1791 shogunal decree had extended their authority, requiring all practitioners of yin-yang divination to affiliate themselves with the Tsuchimikado or to stop their activities altogether. The roots of the dispute were, of course, economic. The Tsuchimikado argued that the competition of unlicensed masters of divination threatened the core of their livelihood; unlicensed practitioners countered that they offered divination services only to avert calamities and to heal diseases as part of their social and religious commitment to their supporters. Over the years the government produced several proclamations against private oracles; one was issued in 1842, when Tokiko was in her mid-thirties.[93]

Despite her silences, what Tokiko does say about her activities as an oracle, healer, and teacher enables us to draw some conclusions about her role in the space of Suzugoya and of its surrounding villages. As a person associated with a Shugendō facility, Tokiko provided spiritual and (occasional?) apotropaic services that answered to the day-to-day needs and anxieties of her fellow villagers. More importantly, she served as a link between her community and the heavens.

Her cosmology offers a key to interpret her personal understanding of society and of her role therein. As a yin-yang prognosticator, Tokiko conceived of a universe where everything, from health to sickness, from peace to unrest, from bliss to misfortunes, was regulated by clearly identifiable cosmic forces. She knew how to read the signs that the universe sent her way and believed

that what lay ahead could be charted. Acting in response to the needs of her fellow villagers, she served as a conduit between them and the high heavens, offering guidance, channeling positive forces, and removing evil (even when evil took the rather undignified form of a splinter in the cooper's finger). Not unlike the school, where she had the opportunity to measure abstract pedagogical principles against the reality of the classroom, the Hōjuin enabled Tokiko to combine the abstract and the practical, the eternal and the contingent, and to see herself as an interpreter who asked the heavens questions and received and transmitted answers. As we will see, she would eventually reconceptualize her role as community diviner and healer on a much larger scale, casting herself as the one who could eliminate illness and misfortune not just from individual bodies but also from the country's body politic writ large.

2 ✳ Circles and Circumstances

As the previous chapter has shown, the school and the Hōjuin enabled Tokiko to square theory with reality and formed the core of her identity as a mediator between the heavens and the everyday. At the same time, these spaces also played a social function: the bonds Tokiko created in and around them integrated her within the community and the surrounding area. Tokiko's nest was thus a nexus not for one but for two reasons: along a vertical line, it linked the cosmic and the commonplace, and on a horizontal plane it connected Tokiko to peers, like-minded individuals, teachers, mentors, and informants near and far.

Lodged as it was at the intersection of a series of circles—like the center of a Venn diagram—Tokiko's microcosm was the place where her many interests and identities converged, generating opportunities for gain and growth. With that in mind, this chapter traces the contours of Tokiko's circles better to identify the space where they overlapped to form the fertile soil into which her worldview and her subsequent plan for action took roots, grew, and blossomed. The exercise is especially relevant because twentieth-century scholars have had the tendency to tell the story of "Tokiko the activist," "Tokiko the poet," or "Tokiko the teacher," giving the impression that such stories, and such identities, were compartmentalized and mutually exclusive. Her 1858 diaries, however, show that none of the various activities in which Tokiko partook existed independently from the others and that no one occupation defined her more than another. She was a prognosticator, teacher, poet, and (eventually) political person all at the same time, and transitioned from one role to the next seamlessly, many times over in the same day. "Transitioned" may in fact be the wrong word: in the dense area at the center of her Venn diagram, Tokiko lived and embodied all those roles simultaneously.

A discussion of space requires a discussion of time. Along with the social spaces out of which Tokiko formed her worldview, this chapter also looks at the moment when historical circumstances caused the many inputs coming to Tokiko from her circles—what she refers to as "the words of the people of the

floating world"[1]—to coalesce into an invitation to act. It was in the Year of the Horse Ansei 5 (1858) that Tokiko began her transition from mediator between the village and the heavens to healer and interpreter of the cosmos for the country writ large.

CIRCLES

Immediate family formed the first circle. As chapter 1 has shown, those who shared the nest with Tokiko exposed her to Shugendō lore, fostered her interest in poetry, and enabled her career in education. Besides providing the inspiration for teaching and divination, her household also supplied her with the physical space to carry out such activities.

Exposure to politics also began within the family. Anzō Ryōko speculates that Tokiko first became acquainted with the "revere the emperor, expel the barbarians" rhetoric at the time of her marriage to Kamoshida Hikozō, when she lived in Kojima. As Anzō points out, Kojima was a hotbed of loyalist discourse. Meiji-era anthologies indicate that, while most villages in the Suzugoya area were on average home to two famous loyalists, Kojima was home to sixteen, seven of whom were members of the Kamoshida clan into which Tokiko had married.[2] Additionally, in a 1902 article published in the magazine *Women and Children* (*Fujin to kodomo*) Shimomura Miyokichi speculates that Tokiko's growth as a loyalist also benefited from her proximity to Sukenobu Hōin (Shinsuke), whom the Kurosawa had taken in as an adopted heir in 1839 and who was well versed in nativist ideology (Kokugaku).[3]

Nativism had originally developed within a literary framework, namely the philological studies of Kada no Azumamaro (1669–1736), Kamo no Mabuchi (1697–1769), and Motoori Norinaga (1731–1801). Collectively, these early nativists had advocated the return to a "pure" Japanese model unsullied by the intrusion of foreign (meaning Chinese) elements.[4] Their point was strictly a linguistic one, but in the nineteenth century, in light of the pressure exerted upon Japan by Western powers, nativism's invitation to discard foreign elements and to focus on what was intrinsically Japanese found relevant political applications. Particularly with Hirata Atsutane (1776–1843), nativism became entangled with the notion of imperial restoration. Even then, however, nativism was not a monolithic entity and disagreement on an array of issues existed within its circles. While it did provide an intellectual scaffolding for the xenophobic rants of many a "revere the emperor, expel the barbarians" enthusiast, given its lack of internal cohesiveness and its literary origins, nativism should not be taken as synonymous with late-Tokugawa loyalism.[5] Shimomura, writing in 1902 for a popular audience in a women's

magazine, may have chosen to simplify his message. While his suggestion is duly noted, there are not enough elements to determine whether Sukenobu Hōin's interest for nativism stemmed from a radical belief in Japan's innate cultural superiority or whether it was simply a corollary to his taste for Japanese poetry. Where Shimomura is correct, however, is in suggesting that Tokiko's exposure to politicized rhetoric did not end with the death of Hikozō. Through the members of her other circles, she gained additional access to relevant political news.

The second circle centered on Tokiko's activities as an educator. As we have seen in the previous chapter, teaching was not only a source of income but also a platform though which Tokiko interacted with local villagers and with people from neighboring communities. For those who treasured learning as a way to social betterment, Tokiko would have been an authority figure of sorts, the conduit through which, as *The Wheel of Teaching* proclaimed, one's family would attain a social standing that could "last for thousands of years."[6] Corollaries to teaching included the establishment of financial as well as personal bonds with the students and their families, the privilege of receiving assistance in performing daily chores, and the occasional conversation with peers to compare notes about the classroom experience (on 1858/8/1, for example, Tokiko received a visit from a certain Kaga Ginshirō with whom she "discussed teaching").[7] The contours of this circle stretched well beyond Suzugoya and the surrounding areas: during her earlier years as a traveling tutor, Tokiko had established long-lasting bonds with families in other provinces. As we will see in chapter 4, members of this extended circle ended up playing a supporting role at the time of her mission to Kyoto in 1859.

Being associated with a Shugendō lineage placed Tokiko within the contours of yet another large circle. Its extent can be gauged from a document preserved at Ibaraki University, which includes a request the Hōjuin had sent out in 1820 to all officials in the nearby villages asking for donations to build a new facility. Likely penned by Tokiko's grandfather Kissō, who ran the household at the time, the document indicates that the Hōjuin's gravitational pull extended beyond the limits of Suzugoya.[8] As with teaching, Shugendō-based channels brought people in and out of Tokiko's life. *Diary of Ansei 5,* for example, mentions the visit of six blind women (*mōjo*) in the eighth month of 1858—possibly a group of *itako,* or blind female shamans who specialized in the summoning of the spirits of the dead.[9] (Blind people in general were often considered ambiguous and were thought to be dwelling between realms of existence, their disability alternatively interpreted as the result of karmic retribution or as a source of great magical powers.)[10]

As with all other networks, membership in this circle came with benefits that included anything from receiving gifts to enjoying the opportunity to keep abreast of news about events unfolding near and far. When they were not tucked away in sacred mountains, Shugendō practitioners were actively involved in the life of their communities and receptive to political debates. *Essential Sources on the Restoration* (*Ishin shiryō kōyō*), for example, indicates that many of the loyalists arrested at the time of the Ansei Purges were also *yamabushi.* Moreover, Akutsu Takuo has shown that Shugendō followers were among those who took up arms during the 1864 Mito civil war.[11]

The fourth circle encompassed Suzugoya's community writ large. Village-based events, religious festivals, gatherings to celebrate the changing of the seasons, the Festival of the Weaver (*tanabata*), the New Year, and the Festival of the Dead (Obon) all provided yet more threads to enrich the tapestry of Tokiko's social relations.[12]

In rural villages like Suzugoya, information traveled less by way of printed broadsheets, as it did in the large urban centers, and more by word of mouth and by way of personal connections. Take for example the *Diary of Ansei 5* entry for 9/7: that evening Tokiko's landlord, who had just returned from Mito, came by to chat. Two days later, when a certain Nakanoya (possibly related to Tokiko's mischievous student Nakanoya Minekichi) visited Tokiko, the two "talked about the castle town." While the content of such exchanges remains a matter of speculation, it may well have referred to the tensions escalating between the domain and the Tokugawa government; only a few days earlier, former domain lord Tokugawa Nariaki had returned to Mito to serve the rest of his sentence in domiciliary confinement.

The landlord's movements also suggests that regional highways played a key role as conduits of information; local villagers, pilgrims, merchants, poets, and recreational travelers all came and went along these highways, bringing news in and out of the community. In the early modern period nine main roads radiated out of Mito castle town in all directions (map 2.1). One, the Nasu highway linking Mito to Shimozuke Province, ran through Suzugoya; Tokiko herself had used it many times in her years as a traveling peddler. The movement of people and ideas, in short, was part and parcel of Tokiko's world.

Not only the presence of a physical infrastructure but also the gyrations of history brought visitors and news of current events to Suzugoya. In the late summer and fall of 1858, as tensions erupted between the former lord Nariaki and the Tokugawa government, Mito samurai began leaving an increasingly hostile Edo and returning to their domain. Anzō Ryōko has pointed out that

Map 2.1. Main highways around Mito: 1. Edo highway (a.k.a. Mito highway); 2. Iwashiro Sōma highway; 3. Tanakura highway; 4. Nanbu highway; 5. Nasu highway; 6. Motegi Utsunomiya highway; 7. Yūki highway; 8. Setoi highway; 9. Iinuma highway. *Map by Will Fontanez.*

due to its position—isolated enough to be safe, yet not entirely out of the loop—Suzugoya became a popular destination for Mito loyalists on the run.[13] They brought news of the political situation, which, Anzō suggests, may have increased Tokiko's exposure to loyalist thought and may have fostered her "sense of awe" toward Tokugawa Nariaki.[14]

While many of Tokiko's poems bemoan the isolation of her "mountain village," Suzugoya's position along the Nasu highway suggests that her lamentations were in fact exercises in poetic melancholy and/or sophistication rather than expressions of concern for being cut off from the world. When, in 1856, she wrote

Marenidani	With hardly anyone
tou hito mo naki	visiting me
yamazato ni	in this mountain village
koyoi no tsuki o	I'll make tonight's moon
utagaki no tomo	my partner in poetry[15]

Tokiko used the idea of seclusion to project the image of a resourceful poet, not to lament her fate as a disconnected one. Likewise, her 1857 poem which reads

Yo no naka o	Such a sad world,
ushi to miyama ni	I thought, and came to hide
shinobu mi o	in the deep of the mountains.
toi kuru hito no	Those who visit me
onaji kokoro wa	are of the same heart[16]

celebrates Suzugoya's purported remoteness as a source of bonding among literati and recluses rather than as the cause of regrettable disengagement.

This brings us to the fifth and final circle, the one centered on poetry. Members of this network included people close and far, men and women, the old and the young, and extended from her own mother to the Katōgi family (Toyo and her son Shunzō, Tokiko's junior by seven years) in nearby Magone to the literati and scholars she had encountered while traveling as a peddler and poet-in-training in the 1830s and 1840s.

Participation in poetic circles afforded Tokiko two seemingly contrasting but in fact mutually reinforcing opportunities: connection and exposure on the one hand and withdrawal to a world untainted by the everyday on the other; engagement but also escapism. Take this poem, which she composed in 1855:

Upon Visiting a Poet

Koromode no	Leaving Hitachi
Hitachi o idete	and its folded sleeves,
Shikishima no	I look for

michi aru miyo o	the august age
tazunete zo tou	of the Way of Shikishima.[17]

On the one hand, these verses celebrate the fostering of connections. The title suggests an actual physical journey, but the reference to "the Way of Shikishima"—a metaphor for the training a poet must endure to reach the height of sophistication[18]—and the deployment of elegant pillow-words ("sleeve" for Hitachi Province)[19] indicate, allegorically, her growth as a literata. Either way, these verses bespeak Tokiko's involvement in an ongoing conversation with, and self-assessment vis-à-vis, her peers. They indicate engagement.

On the other hand, the poem suggests the opposite—a trend toward escaping from the present and idealizing a return to the past. Because Shikishima is also a pillow-word for the ancient Way of Japan,[20] the poem can also be read as follows:

Koromode no	Leaving Hitachi
Hitachi o idete	and its folded sleeves,
Shikishima no	I look for
michi aru miyo o	the ancient age
tazunete zo tou	of Japan.

Tokiko, in other words, may have written these verses to mythologize the past as an alternative to a troubled present. The dating of the poem, in this respect, is telling: the anthology in which it is included was composed in the tenth month of 1855, at the time of the devastating Ansei Edo earthquake. Whereas in faraway Kyushu the nun Nomura Bōtō bemoaned the earthquake in elegant verses that focused on the present,[21] in Mito, Tokiko chose to offset the tensions, problems, and ugliness of her day and age by looking away and calling on the past. (As we will see in chapter 4, the image of the "ancient age of Japan" returns in her petitionary poem to the emperor precisely in that sense.) In this respect, poetic circles offered an escape. Appropriately, Tokiko signed off on the poem with her pen name, Rikkyō, combining the characters for Plum and Courteous, in a not-so-subtle tribute to an endearing poetic tradition.

For all the untainted beauty that poetry could afford, the reality of late-Tokugawa tensions was never too far in the background. By the mid-nineteenth century any poet would have known that a return to "the ancient age of Japan" required more than proficiency with the brush and a talent for suggestive imagery: it demanded a political stance and real-life action. Tokiko's fellow poets were as versed in their art as they were fluent in the idiom of politics, and exerted a great deal of influence on her growth as an activist. As a later chapter

will show, at least one of her poetry tutors, Kojima Harutaka, was probably responsible for her decision to travel to Kyoto; other fellow literati provided not only diversion and encouragement but also logistical support during her journey to the imperial capital and after her release from prison.

In outlining these circles in sequence I do not mean to suggest that they developed in a neat chronological order, nor that, once formed, they remained fixed in time. Some bonds lasted, but others dissolved to be replaced by new ones, or not to be replaced at all. Finally, precisely because they intersected at the center of a Venn diagram, these circles were not mutually exclusive. Poets and oracles, family members and fellow villagers, activists and teachers forged bonds with Tokiko by moving in and out of her many networks without restrictions or boundaries. The aforementioned Kojima Harutaka, for example, first came into Tokiko's life as poetry tutor, but by the end of 1858 he was speaking to her in his capacity as a political activist. Katōgi Shunzō of Magone also connected with Tokiko by way of poetic networks, but over time their lyrical affinities became complemented with ties fostered in the context of their common involvement with the loyalist movement.[22]

Ever evolving and adaptable, Tokiko's networks tell the story of how a rural villager from Mito's hinterland defined her social coordinates while at the same time gaining access to information from a variety of angles. Their extent and complexity help us understand what Tokiko meant when, in narrating the story of her involvement with the loyalist movement, she claimed that it was precipitated, among other things, by troubling news that reached her via "the words of the people of the floating world."

If Tokiko's political consciousness did not mature in a social vacuum, it also did not do so in a geographical one. In this respect, the fact that she lived, of all places, in Mito domain is of no small significance. The history of the domain in Tokiko's formative years had been an eventful one to say the least. From the tenure of Tokugawa Nariaki as domain lord (1829–1844) to the rise of the exculpation movement in 1844, Mito had been home to opinionated leaders and vociferous commoners, not a few of whom originated from Suzugoya and its neighboring communities. In the 1850s the domain was still a cauldron of political opinions that often boiled over into open factionalism, inflaming the hearts of intellectuals and rural peasants alike. Domain policies enacted in the 1850s and 1860s, such as the conferral of semi-samurai status to commoners, the creation of schools that propagated Mito ideology, and the organization of rural militias, would further facilitate the involvement of Mito peasants in political diatribes.[23] (Tokiko's relation to Mito ideology is examined in more detail in chapter 4.) Not all of these avenues led to mass mobilization and politicization, and not all of them were open to women. Indeed, as another Mito

woman, Yamakawa Kikue, tells us, women usually "remained ignorant of the political issues swirling around them."[24] Kikue spoke of samurai women, whose lives were especially controlled. However, in the 1850s, as a commoner (not to mention a widow with adult daughters), Tokiko would have enjoyed numerous opportunities to gain exposure to the ideological milieu of her domain and of the country and to develop a keen awareness of simmering political tensions.

A fertile soil is only one of two required elements for a seedling to grow and bloom; equally important is the season in which one plants the seeds. Having placed Tokiko in a defined space (the terrain at the intersection of various circles) and place (Mito domain), I must therefore introduce the final piece of the puzzle, time. Tokiko's political persona came of age between the summer and fall of 1858—the Year of the Horse Ansei 5.

CIRCUMSTANCES

In the summer and fall of 1858, Japan experienced a string of unsettling events. Ii Naosuke (1815–1860) became prime minister (*tairō,* or Great Elder) on 4/23; despite the opposition of the imperial court, Ii negotiated treaties with the United States (6/19), the Dutch (7/10), the Russians (7/11), the British (7/18), and the French (9/3). Emperor Kōmei threatened abdication, deeming the Tokugawa incapable of fending off the foreign threat.

Former Mito lord Tokugawa Nariaki, his son and then-lord of Mito Yoshiatsu, and lord of the collateral Owari house Tokugawa Yoshikumi (Yoshikatsu) showed up at Edo castle to challenge the decision five days after the signing of the first treaty. Their action signaled the beginning of a rift between imperial court, shogunate, and domain lords that would escalate in the weeks and months to follow. Nariaki was placed under house arrest on 7/5; Yoshikumi and Yoshiatsu received similar sentences. Notification of the punishment traveled fast, reaching Mito castle on the morning of 7/7 and triggering consternation and anger. Before long, the news arrived in the rural areas as well: a record from Shimoanozawa village, near Suzugoya (map 1.2), mentions Nariaki's punishment in an entry dated 7/10.[25]

In Kyoto, the emperor manifested his disapproval by issuing a "secret" decree addressed not to Edo, as protocol demanded, but directly to Mito.[26] The document decried Ii's capitulation to foreign demands and invited the Tokugawa to consult with other lords and draft a plan to repel the barbarians. The original reached the Mito residence in Edo on the morning of 8/16; by 8/19 a copy arrived in Mito domain. While some, even in Mito, criticized the edict as a breech in protocol and demanded its return, others saw it as vindication.[27] In the meantime, Ii reacted to the mounting criticism by rounding up and im-

prisoning countless members of the opposition both in Edo and in Kyoto. The Ansei Purges had begun.

In Mito, supporters of Nariaki once again mobilized to demand his liberation, as they had done in 1844. By 9/8, five hundred people had assembled in the post town of Kogane, along the Mito highway; one week later their number had risen to 1,300.[28] They poured in from every corner of the domain and from every group in the social spectrum; Tokushuku Tajūrō, a merchant from a village near Suzugoya, observed that "from village officials all the way down to people of no rank, groups of sympathizers kept transiting, day in and day out, by day and by night."[29] While women were less likely to be among those who marched on Edo (though exceptions did exist, as we have seen in the case of Katōgi Toyo in 1844), many contributed to the collective effort by praying at local shrines.[30]

In the midst of these controversies, the shogun Tokugawa Iesada suddenly passed away (7/4). News of his death eventually became known; the records of Mito domain report: "On the eighth day of the [eighth] month the death of the shogun was announced; a great funeral is expected on the eighteenth."[31] Rumors that the shogun had been poisoned began to circulate, testifying more to the collapsing political situation than to the existence of actual conspiracies. The choice of Iesada's successor once again exacerbated the feud between Ii Naosuke and Tokugawa Nariaki, with Ii emerging victorious in enthroning the lord of Kii domain, Tokugawa Yoshitomi (later to be renamed Tokugawa Iemochi, 1846–1866). Aged twelve, the new shogun was but a puppet in Ii's hands.

Just as everyone was reeling from the news of the shogun's death and of the treaties with the foreign barbarians, another calamity struck, one that "did not give a moment's respite to the people's upset spirits."[32] Cholera had arrived. The epidemic, the second major one in Japanese history,[33] had begun in Nagasaki early in the sixth month. Some blamed the disease on the presence of barbarians onto Japanese soil, while others, more prosaically, attributed it to the consumption of spoiled seafood.[34] By the eighth month, cholera had reached Edo, killing thousands. Extraordinary measures were taken in order to halt the contagion: when a large funeral procession crossed Nihonbashi, for example, the bridge was washed not just once, as was customary, but six times.[35]

Fear of death resulted in a frantic quest for blessings and remedies; as Inoue Jōshō (1816–1869), the abbot of a temple in Tosa, noted, many sought comfort in the services of religious figures and divination specialists: "During this outbreak . . . Shingon priests, *yamabushi* who practice yin-yang divination, and other such fellows have seized the opportunity and are plenty busy making tons of money."[36] Many deployed the protective powers of amulets and written incantations; others purified their rooms by burning pine branches, sugar,

and even gunpowder.[37] A chronicler from Himi village (in modern-day Toyama Prefecture), Tanakaya Ken'emon, compiled a list of possible remedies that included charms made with leaves and chili peppers wrapped in red paper as well as soup with *kirazu* (a byproduct of tofu) and pickled plums—"it is comfort food," he wrote, "and it works well at warding off the disease."[38] We do not know whether any of the divination or incantation sessions Tokiko performed in the summer and fall of 1858 were related to the epidemic or whether she assisted in the making of amulets, but it is possible that she did.

Cholera was not the only adversity plaguing the population in 1858. Early in the sixth month a fire ravaged Kyoto. Throughout the summer and fall, various regions experienced floods and earthquakes. In Etchū, unseasonable weather ruined the crops; the price of rice rose, triggering violent uprisings in the seventh month. Tanakaya Ken'emon's words leave little to the imagination: the area, he says, plunged into a "warlike" state (*sensō no gotoku*).[39] The situation was just as dire in neighboring Kaga domain, where a long rainy spell had also ruined the crops.[40] On 7/11 hundreds gathered at Kanazawa castle and forced the city magistrates to release emergency supplies. As one observer put it, "this is an unprecedented emergency, like nothing we have seen in this country in the past 250 years." He also added, "these days there is no peace of mind, no way of forgetting about the world out there and having a good time; indeed, even while sipping one's favorite sake, one cannot [fully] enjoy it."[41]

As is often the case, when one shifts away from the wide-angle view and zooms in, the story changes a bit. And so, if we turn to Suzugoya, we will notice that, in the midst of these upheavals, for Tokiko life went on and even included pleasant moments. On 7/24, for example, she penned the following poem:

Mura ame no	Passing showers over the village,
furu to mo kaze wa	yet the winds
shizukanite	are calm.
miyo odayakani	Could this then be a year
sugiru toshi kana	of peace and quiet?

One should not take these lines as ironic or, worse yet, write them off as "last famous words." Rather, they indicate that the wheels of history turned at different speeds and that a master narrative of gloom and doom does not by default cast a dark shadow into every corner of the scene onto which it unfolds.

This is not to say that Suzugoya was immune to the troubles that affected the other regions, or that Tokiko ignored them. In some of the poems she wrote

in the sixth month of 1858, for example, one detects seeping anger at the fact that the country had been "violated by foreigners." This was the month during which American consul Townsend Harris had entered Edo Bay (6/17), the treaty with the United States had been ratified (6/19), and Nariaki had protested formally at Edo castle (6/24). In reaction to such news Tokiko included occasional xenophobic outbursts amidst poems that celebrated the snow and the quails, the geese and the dew:

Omohiki ya	I never thought that
ikokujin ni	[our country would be] violated
okasarete	by foreigners;
ono ga mi yori o	may I strike them
utsu yumiya to wa	with bow and arrows.
Kotokuni no	Violated
emishi no funa ni	by barbarian vessels
okasarete	from foreign lands:
kuni no midare no	thus began, I surmise,
moto to naruramu	our country's chaos.
Hi no moto no	The barbarian vessels
kami no chikara ni	and the foreign lands
kotokuni to	shall be destroyed
emishi no funa ya	by the might of the gods
uchihatasuramu	of the [land of the] rising sun.[42]

Still, for all of Tokiko's anger at foreign encroachment, big history remained distant, taking a back seat to the everyday. On the day Nariaki was placed under house arrest (7/5), for example, Tokiko's irritation stemmed from a much more personal situation: a student had fallen asleep at the desk and would not wake up. As the ink began to dry on the treaties with the Dutch and the Russians, Tokiko aired out her books to prevent mold and bug infestations (7/10 and 7/11). While Ii Naosuke was signing the treaty with the British (7/18), Tokiko was pickling plums. It was not the issuing of the "secret" decree or the announcement of the shogun's death that made 8/8 noteworthy for her, but the five large melons she received with her tuition fees. The distant rumbles of big history, however, would only become louder and closer.

As the terrible Year of the Horse Ansei 5 finally came to an end, news of brewing political factionalism became ever more disquieting. In Awayama village, near Suzugoya, merchant Tokushuku Tajūrō did not put up festive decorations

and did not exchange New Year's greetings; he just visited the local tutelary shrine and prayed. No decorations adorned the streets of Mito castle town either, and no visits were paid to the lord's castle to offer congratulations.[43] It was a somber New Year, foreshadowing the much darker days that lay ahead for the domain.

If we shift our gaze away from Mito and into the village of Suzugoya, we will find Tokiko teaching, reading *The Book of Changes,* and socializing with her neighbors. She even put up her festive New Year's decorations on 12/26.[44] It would appear as if, again, the wheels of macro- and microhistory were moving at different paces—the former, slow and grave, the latter, fast and upbeat. The two, however, were not disconnected, as Tokiko would soon find out. Her life may have remained a mere footnote on the narrative of history writ large had it not been for a series of events that, as she would later recall, reconfigured her priorities, propelling politics to the front and center of her existence and taking her out of her confined microcosm. It is to these events that we now turn.

Part II

✳

THE CHAOS AND COSMOS OF KUROSAWA TOKIKO

3 ✳ Glimpses of History (The Script)

Between the fall of 1858 and the spring of 1859, the small world of Kurosawa Tokiko came within full sight of big history. Transitioning from one to the other required a coherent plan with gradual shifts and logical steps. The ordinary individual, in other words, could not hope to alter the course of history unless some important premises were met and some endorsements obtained. This was especially true for a woman—a point, as we will see in the pages that follow, not lost on Tokiko. Like poets in training and like Shugendō practitioners preparing to enter the mountains, the common person wishing to connect with history writ large needed guidance. In reality, many ignored this rule; those who acted on the spur of the moment, improvising all along, are precisely the faceless masses that some history books write off as charmed and frenzied. Tokiko knew better.

To write the script of her journey into large-scale history, Tokiko combined the rational and the uncanny, the calculated and the unexpected. Drawing on her experience, she deployed an arsenal of rhetorical figures, lyrical images, and cosmic cameos worthy of the most talented poet and prognosticator. The resulting narrative reads as follows: between the end of 1858 and the spring of 1859 Tokiko's path crossed the orbit of big history at least five times. With each encounter, Tokiko became increasingly aware of the trouble brewing beyond Suzugoya and of her putative role as a problem solver. To put it in different words, in her 1859 diaries Tokiko organized the narrative of her involvement with the loyalist movement around the idea of signs and distress signals, portraying herself as the chosen recipient and talented interpreter of hints large and small. Each sign, each glimpse functioned either as an inspiration or as an endorsement, making it not only possible, but in fact unavoidable for a base-born nobody to step out of her microcosm and cross over into a much larger historical stage.

It all began with a portent. On the evening of the twenty-fourth day of the eighth month of 1858, Tokiko's landlord rushed to her house: "There is a comet

in the sky. It is right over the road in front of the house." Tokiko went to see for herself and, awestruck with the celestial body, "worshipped [it] profusely."[1]

There was much to admire about this unusual comet. Known to western astronomers as Donati's comet (after its discoverer, Italian astronomer Giovanni Battista Donati, 1826–1873), it is the fourth largest comet in history and one of the brightest on record.[2] Its prolonged visibility to the naked eye throughout the last four months of 1858 also commanded attention. For all such reasons Donati's comet became the centerpiece of written records, paintings, and portraits not only in Japan but also in Europe, North America, and even Australia.[3]

In Japan, appearing as it did in the midst of the calamities of 1858, the comet seemed like a confirmation that the world was falling apart. The records of Mito domain, for instance, comment:

> On top of this turmoil, an uncommon comet has appeared since the middle of the [eighth] month. It is a dreary object, which flutters midway through the sky with a long tail of a cold blue light. Rumors have begun to circulate, and some argue this is a sign of disaster.[4]

Inoue Jōshō, an abbot from Tosa, added, "this is not at all a good omen; this is a calamity-star." He feared the portent announced the end of days and advised his parishioners to invoke the name of Amida many times over.[5]

Other records confirm that the general population was troubled by the arrival of "the strange star." "The farmers are depressed," wrote one chronicler, "for they do not know whether this means good or ill fortune."[6] Some observers, however, took it as a positive sign that better times were on the way and referred to the comet (*hōkiboshi*) as the "star of the year of abundance" (*hōnenboshi*), the "plentiful-vapor-star" (*hō-ki-boshi*), or the "treasure-day-star" (*hōhiboshi*).[7] Either way, the comet did not go unnoticed.

Tokiko's 1859 diaries indicate that she took the comet as an encrypted message to decipher. "Beginning in the middle of the eighth month," she wrote, "every night a comet moving from the northwest to the east appeared; its color was white." Recalling that another white comet had appeared in the tenth century, shortly before Taira no Masakado's rebellion (939), Tokiko added:

> At that time [i.e., in the tenth century], astronomers were summoned to the imperial palace. They pondered over the colors [of comets], [and agreed that] comets come in five colors. If a comet is blue, the kings and princes will fall and the emperor will suffer

> because of a war. If it is red, a villain will rise and the people in the country will be unsafe. If it is yellow, the beauty of a woman will cause great damage. If it is white, the shogun will disobey and a great war will break out within two years. If it is black, a flood will devastate villages and homes and there will be no crops.[8]

Tokiko does not say which historical record precisely she consulted,[9] but there would have been no shortage of options for her to link comets and calamities, for awareness of comet lore was widespread. Terajima Ryōan's popular *Illustrated Japanese-Chinese Encyclopedia of the Three Elements* (*Wakan sansai zue,* 1712), for example, cited Chinese lore in saying that "blue comets indicate that the ruler will be defeated; red comets that a rebel will rise."[10] *The State of Affairs in This Floating World* (*Ukiyo no arisama*), a chronicle from the first half of the nineteenth century, traces the five-color classification to China and lists as possible outcomes war, floods, fires, disease of a ruler, and despotism.[11] Nineteenth-century nativist Mito scholar Nishino Nobuaki wrote that "if a comet is blue, the ruler will fall; if it is red, a rebellion will arise."[12] Finally, Hamamatsu Utakuni and Funakoshi Seiichirō, authors of *The Wonders of Osaka* (*Setsuyō kikan,* 1833), also read blue comets as indicators that the ruler would fall; red comets as harbingers of rebellions; yellow comets as warnings that the beauty of a woman would compromise the authority of the ruler; and black comets as portending floods.[13]

While the association between portents and disasters was not new, there are at least two points in Tokiko's account that deserve attention, for they shed light on the specific keys she used to read the comet as a distress signal from the heavens. The first point concerns the color of the 1858 comet. Tokiko describes it as white, which, according to the celestial taxonomy she provides, would indicate an imminent act of rebellion on the part of the shogun. Other sources, however, disagree: the Mito domain records speak of a cold blue light, and other documents mention a crimson halo.[14] The actual color of the comet is not important. What matters is that seeing it as white enabled Tokiko to infer that a war would break out within two years. It is as if, in Tokiko's narrative, the comet appeared and, with its eerie white light, illuminated all the troubles engendered by the Ansei Treaties, the purges, and Nariaki's punishment, all the while alerting her to the catastrophic outcome that lay ahead.

The second point to consider is the use of the term "shogun" in the context of the tenth century. This is not entirely anachronistic: before "shogun" became the official hereditary title of the Minamoto clan in the twelfth century, the term had been used to indicate some of the generals who had served in the expeditions against the "northern barbarians" in the eighth century.[15]

In Tokiko's story, however, the term makes more sense if taken in its post-twelfth-century connotation, indicating a single military ruler commanding sufficient resources to bring an entire country to war. The white light of the comet, in other words, not only brought the Ansei crisis into sharper focus for Tokiko but also pointed at a direct culprit: the ruling shogun.

Like the hexagrams from *The Book of Changes,* the comet was a readable sign from the heavens, one that had chosen the base-born Tokiko as its recipient and interpreter. In *Travel Diary* (*Kikō,* 1859) Tokiko describes the 1858 comet as the "warning" (*keisei*) that triggered her foray into political activism, transforming her from teacher into loyalist.[16] She was already aware of the factionalist strife at play in Edo and Mito, but it was the realization that "a great war will break out within two years" that set in motion the events that led to her 1859 mission to Kyoto. The centrality of the comet in Tokiko's 1859 diaries will be examined in more detail in chapter 5. For now suffice it to say that in 1858 the comet rose as the first of several distress signals that impelled Tokiko to turn her attention to the trouble brewing outside Suzugoya.

The second signal came in the form of an encounter that took place later in the fall of the same year. On the sixteenth day of the ninth month a visitor named Kubōgame shared with Tokiko a poem attributed to Emperor Kōmei. It read:

Nigori e no	We may have sunk
mizu ni wagami wa	in the waters
shizumu to mo	of a muddy stream,
nigori wa sejina	but all our people
yorozu kunitami	will not be smeared.[17]

Had the acts of defiance carried out by the shogun, the signing of the treaties, and the punishment inflicted upon Tokugawa Nariaki caused the country to sink? Already alerted by the comet, Tokiko may have interpreted the poem in just such a key. Her response read as follows:

Kimigayo ni	Under Your august reign
sumeru irie no	the stream water
mizu naraba	will clear;
tomoni koso sume	we will clear it together
yorozu kunibito	all of us countrymen.

By penning a response Tokiko engaged in a symbolic dialogue with the emperor. Not only that, but she figuratively consoled a somewhat dejected Kōmei

and called for the participation of all "countrymen" (*kunibito*) in the fight against the barbarians. A not-so-subtle incitation to remain defiant, this imaginary conversation, Anzō Ryōko argues, was one of the sources of inspiration for Tokiko's 1859 journey to Kyoto.[18] It forced her to look beyond the confines of Suzugoya, at the country writ large, while connecting her to the emperor and, by extension, to the loyalist cause.

It may be worth pausing here to reflect upon Tokiko's use of the word "country" (*kuni*). More than a simple homage to the original poem by the emperor (which also includes the term *kuni*), Tokiko's choice of word illuminates her wide-ranging field of vision. In the early modern era *kuni* referred mostly, but not exclusively, to a large domain or a province.[19] To Tokiko, born in the nineteenth century and witness to major reconfigurations of authority and political spaces (what Konta Yōzō calls "expanding geographic consciousness"),[20] *kuni* would have been a fluid term. Indeed, while her immediate loyalty stood with Nariaki and Mito domain, her political concerns, as we will see, extended to the realm writ large—what we would now identify as "Japan." *Kuni* to her would have indicated Hitachi Province, Mito domain, and "the country," and it is in this sense that she used the word while "conversing" with the emperor.

The third glimpse of big history, and the third cause for concern, came on the twenty-sixth day of the twelfth month, the day Tokiko decorated her house for the New Year. In the evening a man showed up at her door; his name was Shishido Nakatsukasa. He had just escaped from custody and, as Tokiko would later recount, was fleeing north disguised as a peasant.[21] Who was this man? Gunji Atsunobu and Nunomura Yasuhiro identify Nakatsukasa as Kojima Harutaka (or Shunson), the Shinto priest and loyalist from the northeast who had tutored Tokiko in the art of poetry years earlier. A 1937 article from the magazine *The Housewife's Companion* (*Shufu no tomo*) presents Nakatsukasa as a scholar from Hitachi Province.[22] Others have suggested that he was an acquaintance of Tokiko's second husband (or stepfather), the late Sukenobu.[23] Either way, Nakatsukasa knew Tokiko through one or more of her circles.

He did not stay long, but what he said had a long-lasting effect on Tokiko. Before taking leave, he "spoke in secret" about the Ansei Purges:

> Because of the state of public affairs these days, they [i.e., the government officials] are summoning all Confucian scholars and people versed in the letters and are killing them without an investigation. Moreover, we see that the enemies of the court are revered.

Additionally, Nakatsukasa lamented the fact that "many within the government have deceived our lord."[24] Tokiko's *Travel Diary* does not name Nakatsukasa explicitly but does mention the visit of "an itinerant man" who decried the existence of sycophants who had led the government astray. More to the point, it refers to the words the man spoke as "tantamount to a warning oracle" (*keisei no otsuge no gotoku*), using the same term ("warning") with which Tokiko had characterized the comet's message.[25] (In the semi-hagiographical version of the story told by Gunji Atsunobu in 1900, Nakatsukasa allegedly added: "The shogun Iemochi is a young boy; the government officials mete out punishment arbitrarily, killing patriots. There is probably no one of our kind [i.e., a loyalist] left, let us flee north." Tokiko reacted with "indignation and resentment" at Nakatsukasa's invitation; "despite being a woman," says Gunji, she refused to acquiesce.)[26]

Tokiko of course already knew about the crisis and had been "worried about how to spare the realm such evil" since the appearance of the comet in the fall.[27] How was the encounter with Nakatsukasa any different? Of all the things Nakatsukasa said, one in particular may have caught Tokiko's attention: his statement that, as a result of the purges, it had become especially difficult for him "as a man" (*danshi nite*) to travel.[28] The comment was not the centerpiece of Nakatsukasa's speech, and in Tokiko's diaries it features as no more than a passing remark. Tokiko, however, had been faced with subtle hints before and knew how to catch one: Was Nakatsukasa implying that, with men out of the picture, the intervention of a woman was now necessary? She does not elaborate on this point, but she does admit that, following the encounter with Nakatsukasa, her "brave heart" was "awakened."[29] At this stage, the signs that had alerted her to the collision course upon which the country had embarked and that had brought to her attention the victims and culprits of the Ansei drama began also to demand her direct involvement, not despite, but because of her gender. But how? What was she supposed to do? The fourth encounter with large-scale history provided the answer.

While Tokiko was mulling over possible ways to "avert grief for the realm"[30] (*tenka no urei o nozokan*) the curtain came down on the Year of the Horse Ansei 5. The Year of the Sheep Ansei 6 (1859) is the one that put Tokiko in the pages of history books, for it was then that she actively joined the loyalist movement, traveled to Kyoto, and attempted to make a direct plea to the emperor. The year, however, began with a much shorter yet no less meaningful trip. A few days after welcoming the New Year (the exact date is unclear), Tokiko made a short excursion to the coastal town of Ōarai, near Mito (map 1.1). There, tucked amidst pine trees at a site called Nenohigahara (or Nenohinohara), stood a stone

monument inscribed with verses by the former lord of Mito, Tokugawa Nariaki:

Bandai o	Pledging to pine
matsu ni chigirite	for eternity
kyō koso wa	today
Nenohinohara ni	I was drawn
hikare kinikere	to Nenohinohara.

Once again in the presence of history and of its iconic figures, Tokiko engaged in a symbolic rendezvous with her former domain lord by offering a response poem titled "The Pines at Nenohi":

Kimi iwau	They are charged with
chiyo no tameshi ni	celebrating you, my lord,
hikiukuru	in perpetuity
kyō no Nenohi no	and so they do today, the pines
matsu zo ureshiku	at Nenohi: what a joy.[31]

The existing sources do not allow us to establish with certainty whether it was this abstract encounter with her former lord that triggered her decision to travel to Kyoto or whether she had already made up her mind and was simply looking for a symbolic endorsement. What they do indicate is that, after the excursion to Ōarai, Tokiko had achieved a distinct vision, one she likened to "a perfectly clear, unclouded mirror."[32] Having read the hints and connected the dots, she finally knew what to do: travel to the imperial court "above the clouds."

Shikishima no	Following the Way
michi tadoru mi wa	of Shikishima
sasagani no	a spider's thread
kumoi no niwa ni	pulled me
hikarekinikeri	to the court's yard.[33]

This poem encapsulates Tokiko's fourth encounter with history. It all began, as she points out, with a poetic exchange celebrating a political golden age of sorts (where Shikishima is taken to mean "the ancient Way of Japan"). The quest for such a golden age, an age antithetical to the (unmentioned, yet implied) chaos of the present, then evolves, seamlessly and elegantly, into a clear vision of

engagement and then into a plan for action: a mission to the imperial court. What we see here is Tokiko's political awakening as it unfolded.

Let us not forget, however, that Tokiko was a poet as much as she was a diviner, and that her foray into history was also precipitated by her ability to read cosmic signs. In the verses with which she announced her newly acquired vision, therefore, Tokiko also paid homage to the sphere of the divine:

Azusayumi	Catalpa bow:
harukeki michi o	the spider's thread
sasakani no	is never loose,
ito mo tayumazu	all the way to the far-off
kumo no ue made	[court] above the clouds.[34]

As Carmen Blacker explains, the catalpa bow enabled shamans and mediums to connect with the gods; when plucked, it commanded the attention of the spirits, cajoling them into communicating with the humans and even into descending amongst them. The bow could also serve as a conduit though which the gods became manifest.[35] While there are no indications that Tokiko possessed such a bow, the spiritual connotations of this poetic trope would not have been lost on a professional diviner (nor would the poetic pedigree of the ritual implement have been unknown to a trained literata). It was not just as a poet but also as a person conversant in the language of the spirits that Tokiko, "pulled" (*hikarekinikeri*) by cosmic hints and by the forces of history, prepared to go to Kyoto and obtain an imperial document exonerating Tokugawa Nariaki.[36]

The spring came and Tokiko selected an auspicious date for her departure: the twenty-second day of the second month (March 26, 1859, in the Gregorian calendar).

Harusame no	As it leaves its nest
furu su o idete	in the spring rain,
uguisu no	the nightingale
kumoue e kayou	flies back and forth above the clouds:
kyō zo medetaki	today is a blessed day.[37]

The "blessed day" coincided with the day of a memorial service for her late father. Tokiko decided not to change her plans: the crisis facing the country, she reasoned, was a "life-or-death situation" (*kikyū sonbō no toki*); in times like this, she added, even King Wu of Zhou had not paid homage to his father's grave. "He thought first and foremost about the welfare of the country and its people" (*tenka kokka banmin no tame o omohi*) and eventually "pacified the realm"

(*tenka o osamu*).[38] Tokiko may have included such a historical footnote to make amends for not fulfilling a filial duty or for the fact that she would leave behind her elderly mother. However, it is not inconceivable that, at this point, she had already begun to see herself as the modern-day equivalent of King Wu, the one who would bring peace to the realm and to its people.

As her comment on King Wu indicates, at the time of the Kyoto trip Tokiko conceived of the geopolitical space around her as a realm/country (*tenka kokka*) hinged on the poles of the emperor and the domain lord(s). In the early modern period, *tenka* indicated a large realm under heaven ("Japan") coalescing, in theory, under the emperor but governed, for all practical purposes, by the Tokugawa. *Kokka,* on the other hand, was used primarily to refer to the domain.[39] The geopolitical order Tokiko invoked at various points in her journey reflected, in part, this arrangement, but with one telling variation: she did away with the Tokugawa middlemen, and, beyond the domain, she looked up directly at the emperor. Trekking along Shibu Pass, for example, she reminded herself that she was enduring the hardships of her mission "for the sake of the emperor, for the sake of my lord, for the sake of the realm and of the country" (*jūzen tenshi no ontame, hōkun no ontame, tenka kokka no ontame*).[40] This comment also illuminates Tokiko's view of the role of the individual in the larger space of the *tenka kokka* and, by extension, on the larger stage of history. Not simply an accessory, the individual had the power to affect the fate of the realm. At Mount Togakushi (a Shugendō mountain whose inner shrine, as a woman, she could not access) Tokiko requested that prayers be offered "for the peace of the realm [*tenka*], for the safety of the country [*kokka*], for the long lasting military success of my lord, for [my] safety along the road, and for the [successful] completion of a great undertaking."[41] As on Shibu Pass, Tokiko presented her own mission as integral to the safety and prosperity of the *tenka kokka,* questioning her purported irrelevance as a historical actor and casting herself as the linchpin upon which rested the recovery of the entire realm.

Other scholars have highlighted the ways in which, "before the nation," intellectuals like Mootori Norinaga, Hirata Atsutane, or Tachibana Moribe (to name a few) theorized a sense of community along sophisticated exegetical lines and by way of intricate cosmologies.[42] Tokiko's understanding of the geopolitical space around her was not as articulate, but it was functional, and, more to the point, it enabled her to take a stand. To her, the political space of *tenka kokka* was neither remote nor ethereal; it was all around her, concrete and within reach. It was the road she walked, the pass she crossed, the wind in her face, and the grasses through which she waded. In the tangible landscape of the *tenka kokka,* physical trials were a manifestation of the challenges required of her mission, as this verse suggests:

Kakutodani	And so I crossed
kewashiki yama o	these
koeru to mo	steep mountains:
kimi ga tame ni ya	there is nothing I would not do
nani itoubeki	for my lord.[43]

Or, elsewhere,

Kumoue made	The divine winds
ware o izanau	that lured me
kamikaze wa	above the clouds
fuku to mo mi ni wa	blustered, but they did not
sawarazarikeri	thwart me.[44]

Tokiko drew strength from such challenges; in facing them head-on, she was reminded of the urgency of her mission; in overcoming them, she gained faith in her ability to bring a solution to the tribulations of her times.

If the space of the *tenka kokka* was within the reach of the individual, so was its time. At Mount Togakushi, Tokiko made this point clear by bowing to tradition first, and then seizing it and putting it to her service. Upon admiring the surrounding mountains, she recalled a poem from the tenth-century anthology *Kokinshū:*

Kimi o nomi	Thinking of you only
omohi Koshiji no	on the road to Koshi,
Shirayama wa	some day the time will come
itsuka wa yuki no	for the snow to melt away
kiyuru toki aru	on White Mountain.[45]

Citing famous verses of the past before striking vistas was not especially original. However, what Tokiko did next is, and it speaks volumes about her view of time, tradition, and history. After citing the *Kokinshū* lines, she rewrote them by adapting them to her personal situation:

Kimigayo o	Thinking of my lord's realm
omohi Koshiji no	on the road to Koshi,
Shirayama ni	I am one and the same with
tsumoreru yuki wa	the snow piling up
ware to hitoshiki	on White Mountain.[46]

By modifying the original poem, Tokiko turned a reflection on love and separation into a political mission statement. She did so because, to her, literary tradition (like the space of the realm) was not ethereal, aloof, and beyond grasp. Paradigms, to Tokiko, did not float in a vacuum. Their usefulness rested on the fact that they could be adapted to reflect (or remedy) immediate, present, and tangible vicissitudes—a lesson she had learned squaring theory and reality in the classroom and in the Hōjuin. In her view of tradition, as in her view of the realm, Tokiko takes infinitives and conjugates them in the present tense and in the first person, putting the individual in charge.

In short, Tokiko postulated that history was within reach of everyone and understood the *tenka kokka* as a tangible space within which practical actions could be performed and concrete results obtained. She did not see an unbridgeable gulf between the large-scale political upheavals of her day and age and the actions of a single person. In fact, a single person had the ability to help the realm avert disaster and turn things around. Her fifth encounter with big history, which occurred at the onset of the Kyoto journey, confirmed the pivotal role of the individual in the historical process.

As she was leaving Suzugoya, Tokiko caught sight of a group of men.

Yukichigau	I asked,
hito o da so ya to	who is that man
na o toeba	I just walked by?
kore zo Yamato no	He is Japan's
kaname to zo kiku	cornerstone, I hear.[47]

The man was a Shinto priest from Furuuchi village; cornerstone, *kaname,* was his given name. Tokiko, in other words, was in the presence of Koibuchi Kaname (1810–1860), one of the men who, one year later, would ambush and kill Minister Ii Naosuke at Sakurada Gate (3/3/1860).

At the time of the encounter, Tokiko would have known Koibuchi Kaname as a local celebrity for the role he had played in the 1844 movement to exculpate Tokugawa Nariaki. As the embodiment of devotion to the former Mito lord, his appearance at the onset of Tokiko's mission served as nothing short of an imprimatur. It was the final confirmation that she had read the signs correctly all along and that she was headed in the right direction, both literally and metaphorically. Like King Wu, she would pacify the realm. Like Kaname, she would be a pivot. By the time she set out on her Kyoto journey, Tokiko saw herself as the person capable of turning the *tenka kokka* around. More than that, she saw herself as a virtual *axis mundi.* To use her own words, her plan

for action had "sprung out of a place as [powerful as] Mount Sumeru." The cosmic mountain at the center of the Buddhist universe, the core out of which everything originates, Mount Sumeru is, indeed, the ultimate pivot, the *axis mundi* by definition.[48] So, by extension, was Tokiko, as she left Suzugoya with her great plan for action.

Tokiko's ascent into large-scale history is the story of how a base-born nobody deciphered a string of encrypted messages and subtle signs that pointed her away from her rural village and in the direction of the imperial capital. The white comet brought the first warning, alerting her to the imminent crisis and squarely blaming the shogun for it. Emperor Kōmei called for help with a poem bemoaning the country's sinking to the bottom of a murky river. Nakatsukasa appeared, lamenting how difficult it had become for males to take to the road. The solution, Tokiko must have thought, had to come from a woman. The trip to Ōarai enabled Tokiko to reaffirm her devotion to Tokugawa Nariaki and gave her a clear vision of what to do. On her way out of Suzugoya the final sign came, confirming she could play a pivotal role in rescuing the realm. History had spoken, and Tokiko had heard it loud and clear.

This neat sequence of signs is as poetic as it is artificial. The fast-forwards and whispered hints of Tokiko's intricate script are, as it turns out, the result not of divine intervention but of hindsight and editing. As Kanamori Atsuko reminds us, the versions of *Travel Diary* and of *Letters from the Kyoto Incarceration* preserved in Mito are the ones Tokiko rewrote in 1875,[49] the year in which the Meiji government honored her with a land grant (see chapter 8). At the time she rewrote *Travel Diary* and *Letters from the Kyoto Incarceration,* Tokiko knew how the story would play out. Such awareness may have inspired her to highlight certain moments at the expense of others, better to create the story of how cosmic signs and subtle hints enabled a self-described "speck of dust in the wind" (*fūzen no chiri*) to become an honoree of the Meiji government.[50] A comet thus became a "warning"; a brief visit provided the frame for a secret conversation laden with implicit suggestions—an "oracle," no less; and an exchange of glances suggested that her actions would be pivotal.

There are other examples of retroactive editorial work in *Travel Diary.* On 2/24, two days into her journey, some acquaintances offered her a series of poems as parting gifts; in a note on that day's entry Tokiko adds: "When I was arrested in Kyoto I offered all these writings to those above me."[51] On 1859/2/24 Tokiko would have had no way of knowing she would be arrested—but in 1875, of course, she would. Added to her narrative, this glimpse of things to come gives value to her mission, anticipating that it would take her close enough to her target as to catch the eye of the authorities. By dropping this hint, Tokiko—

the consummate storyteller—warned her readers to stay tuned while infusing her actions with resonance.

In 1875 Tokiko (re-)wrote the script of her Kyoto journey and, with the clever deployment of ad hoc rhetorical tactics, told the story of her ascent onto the large stage of history and onto the space of the *tenka kokka*. Signs from heaven and whispers from iconic figures cast her in a lead role, despite her being born as an extra. With the script ready, it was time for action.

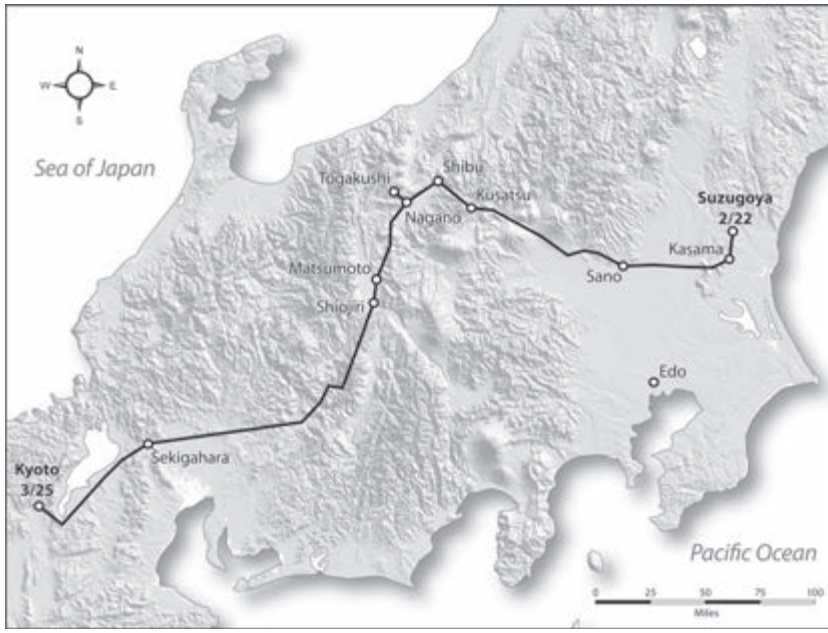
4 ✳ From Script to Stage

Much has been made in twentieth-century works of Tokiko's "solitary" mission to Kyoto, particularly in light of her gender. In Gunji Atsunobu's *Unparalleled Now and Then: The Woman Loyalist Tokiko* (*Kokon musō retsujo Tokiko,* 1900), a fellow (male) loyalist praises Tokiko because "with the body of a woman you have faced, alone, the blizzard and you have traveled across mountains and rivers."[1] In 1936, Takamure Itsue and Nunomura Yasuhiro hailed Tokiko for having acted with no help from others.[2] More recently, *The Biographical Dictionary of Japanese Women* (*Nihon josei jinmei jiten,* 1993) also specified that she went to Kyoto alone.[3] Tokiko herself, in *Travel Diary,* mentions the difficulties she faced in being on her own (*hitori nite*).[4]

The same diary, however, also reveals a much more intricate picture than the simplistic (but irresistible) "woman travels alone" headline. Tokiko lived at the intersection of several circles, and neither her political education nor her journey to, and sojourn in, the capital occurred in a vacuum. Like all scripts, hers too required plenty of behind-the-scenes work to be enacted on stage. Such work came in the form of support from her peers, whom we find interacting with Tokiko at every step of her mission, from the early days on the road to the stint in the imperial capital. The transition from script to stage also necessitated a clever work of lights and shadows, of half-whispered lines and dramatic silences, so that Tokiko could perform her act safely, effectively, and convincingly. The story of Tokiko's journey to Kyoto illuminates another side of political activism on the part of the non-elites in nineteenth-century Japan, one defined not by improvisation, emotion, or folly, but by networking, planning, and focus.

TO KYOTO

Tokiko was not the only character on stage. At the onset of her journey (map 4.1), for example, she traveled with Koibuchi Jihei (not to be confused with the aforementioned Koibuchi Kaname), whom she describes as a man "who harbors



Map 4.1. Tokiko's 1859 journey to Kyoto. *Map by Will Fontanez.*

an exquisite devotion in the bottom of his heart."[5] From *Travel Diary* we know that she had met with Jihei along the road on 2/26; they traveled together and parted ways on 3/1, when Tokiko stopped in Kusatsu while Jihei forged ahead. He reached Kyoto before her and, by the time she arrived, he had already left.

Tokiko does not offer much insight into the figure of Koibuchi Jihei, but other sources indicate that he was Suzugoya's village head (*shōya*) and had been an active member of the Nariaki exculpation movement since 1844.[6] On that occasion, Jihei had traveled to Edo and had delivered a petition to an official of Kii domain.[7] Moreover, Jihei had connections with Katōgi Shunzō of Magone, an acquaintance of Tokiko's; when Shunzō traveled to Edo in 1844, he stopped to see Jihei and consult with him.[8]

Jihei's role in the Nariaki exculpation movement is at the root of a case of mistaken identity: a report produced in 1859 by an anonymous retainer of the Ii clan who was on the hunt for Jihei mistakenly identifies him as the loyalist Saitō Tomejirō (1830–1860).[9] Tomejirō is known for his loyalist fervor as much as for his spectacular suicide, which he performed on the grounds of Mito castle on 1860/2/24 to protest Mito's decision to return the emperor's secret decree. He would receive posthumous rank in the Meiji period for his dedication

to the loyalist mission.[10] The speculation of the Ii retainer turned out to be unfounded, but the hunt for Jihei and the anxiety about his identity provide evidence for the reputation he had created as a potential threat to the Tokugawa government. Additionally, it confirms that Tokiko's "solitary" rise to the center of the stage was in fact made possible by the support of other, more experienced historical actors.

On the way to Kyoto, Tokiko regularly visited with members of her networks. Not all of them were privy to the purpose of her trip, but all provided assistance. In Sawatari, for example, she lodged with Yumoto Tarōuemon, whom she had known since her earlier travels to Kusatsu.[11] In Koume she visited with Yumoto Heibei, an acquaintance from her days as a hairpin peddler and poet in training; the fact that she refers to him by his pen name, Tōjū, also indicates they had a connection nurtured in the context of poetry circles.[12] As Tokiko tells us, she had first met Heibei through the intercession of Kikuya Gontarō, whose daughter and grandson she had tutored in 1851. The Kikuya family took her in for three days at their Kusatsu home when a snowfall shut down the Shibu Pass road and gave her food when she resumed her journey.[13] It is unclear whether they were aware of her plan; Tokiko tells us they spent an evening "discussing various topics," but does not say whether such topics included the circumstances of her journey.

In other cases it appears as if she was open about her mission. In Shimodate, Tokiko stayed with a certain Sōgo, the younger brother of one of her poetry tutors, Kangiku An. Evidence of the fact that she may have revealed the true goal of her journey comes from the farewell poem Sōgo offered her:

Maiagete	Springtime butterfly,
hayaku mo modore	soar high,
haru no chō	and then quickly come back.[14]

In an indirect way, the poem reads like an exhortation for her to be safe in her great enterprise and may indicate awareness of Tokiko's plans on the part of Sōgo. In any case, Tokiko's writings enable us to reconstruct an intricate net of personal connections that provided a veritable support group. Be they overt loyalist sympathizers, fellow poets, or individuals with whom she had first related as an educator, Tokiko's acquaintances joined her along the road, gave her shelter, and provided supplies and words of encouragement.

Outside this support group, of course, it made good sense for Tokiko to keep a low profile. In the volatile atmosphere of the late 1850s, talk of current events could bring unwanted attention. While at an inn in Sano, for example, Tokiko overheard some guests discussing politics; rather than intervene, she

decided to feign ignorance.[15] Elsewhere, she encountered a group of wayfarers who began debating contemporary events. Tokiko records their exchanges word for word:

> "These days the retired lord of Mito does not act with restraint, and trouble is brewing in Edo and in the capital [Kyoto]."
>
> "What happened now?"
>
> "Why, I heard they sealed an alliance with America. He [Nariaki] acted disrespectfully, so now we are in the midst of a war and the people from Edo have nowhere to go. That's why everyone, and I mean everyone in Edo is speaking ill of the lord of Mito."

Hearing such badmouthing, Tokiko, who considered Ii Naosuke a traitor (*gyakuzoku*), felt "enraged deep down inside" and "indignant." However, she again kept quiet, "not expecting people to understand [my views]." [16] She parted ways with the group as soon as she could.

Another reason to exercise restraint came from the fact that Tokiko was travelling without official documentation. The checkpoint system implemented in the early seventeenth century was, by the mid-nineteenth, compromised by leniency, carelessness, and corruption. Nevertheless, in 1859 obtaining official permission to travel was still a requirement; failure to do so would result in delays, denial of transit, and even arrest. Aware of her vulnerability in this respect, Tokiko had planned accordingly, not only trying to deflect unwanted attention but also traveling along the Ina Road to elude the Kiso Fukushima barrier. Being from Mito—a simmering hotpot of anti-governmental rhetoric—gave her an additional reason to exercise caution. At an inn in Moriyama, for example, "the controls were so strict" that she "lied and registered as a traveler from Kusatsu, in Kōzuke Province."[17]

Lastly, there was the ever-pressing issue of gender. Even in the nineteenth century, the presence of an unescorted woman on the road raised questions. When asked about the purpose of her trip, Tokiko cited literary pursuits. The deception worked, though it occasionally backfired: believing that she was traveling for poetic training, her host in Kuwahara insisted on escorting her to Mount Obasute, a renowned site in Shinano. Despite her resolve to reach the imperial capital, Tokiko had to feign interest: "My spirit is in a rush [to get to Kyoto], but if I go ahead without so much as glancing at this famous place, people will doubt me and will say I do not have the true motivations of a [poetry] practitioner."[18] By appealing to her background as a poet and inscribing her journey within an accepted practice, Tokiko deflected all suspicions. Even the best of scripts, as it turned out, required the occasional improvisation.

THE PETITIONARY POEM

After a journey of thirty-four days, Tokiko reached the imperial capital on the twenty-fifth day of the third month (April 27, 1859) and took residence at the Ōgiya inn on Karasuma Avenue. The choice, again, was not coincidental, for the Ōgiya was the default destination of Mito loyalists. She was indeed greeted with these words: "Welcome, thank you for staying with us. There were many other [guests] from Hitachi [Province], but they have all left."[19] The innkeeper did not offer a specific reason for the exodus of Mito visitors, but it is safe to assume it had to do with the escalating tensions in the capital. Kyoto in those days was abuzz with news of the arrest of numerous members of the Sanjō and Ichijō families and of Muraoka no Tsubone (Tsuzaki Noriko, 1786–1873), a key liaison between the Kyoto nobility and the loyalist movement.[20]

Reaching Kyoto was, of course, only half of the plan. Now Tokiko had to make her plea before the emperor. Inclement weather the day after her arrival forced her to stay inside; she used the opportunity to put down on paper "the long poem I had composed in my heart."[21] The petition finally materialized. Tokiko offers no explanation as to why she had not written it down before leaving Suzugoya, but one can assume it was a calculated move: had she been stopped and searched, the petition would have been incriminating.

Petitioning the authorities was common practice in early modern Japan, so common, in fact, that by the final century of the Tokugawa it had come to follow predictable, "even ritualized" patterns.[22] Tokiko was aware of the precedent established by the Nariaki exculpation movement in 1844, when some of her own acquaintances had traveled to Edo to deliver petitions to various officials and domain lords. But to this choreographed dance between authorities and subjects Tokiko responded with an act of her own. First, the magnitude of the 1858 crisis convinced her to skip the middleman and go directly to the imperial court. Second, unlike her predecessors had done in 1844, Tokiko penned her request in the form of a long poem, or *chōka*. Why did she do so? Other scholars have offered an answer to this question. Kanamori Atsuko, for example, argues that Tokiko did not have a strong political identity; she was a poet at heart and the petition was less a political act and more an opportunity to test her literary skills.[23] Kanamori's interpretation, however, does not explain why, to demonstrate her poetic abilities, Tokiko would have chosen to embark on a journey to the capital. More importantly, it fails to recognize the coexistence of multiple identities: being a poet did not prevent Tokiko from being a political person.

A more appropriate explanation links the choice of format to the content of the message and to its intended recipient, and hinges on issues of language

proficiency and length requirements. Tokiko was indeed a poet; the language of poetry was the one with which she was most familiar. Penning the petition in any other mode would have placed her at a disadvantage, forcing her to dabble with formats and registers with which she was less comfortable, minimally trained, or utterly unfamiliar. Poetry, by contrast, was an idiom she spoke fluently; it enabled her to make her point clearly, elegantly, and convincingly.

Of all formats, the long poem is the one that made the most sense. Haiku and "crazy verses" (*kyōka*) were too vulgar, not to mention short (seventeen and thirty-one syllables, respectively). Traditional Japanese poems (*waka*) would have been more adequate, and were indeed among the preferred outlets for late-Tokugawa loyalists to promote their political visions. However, at thirty-one syllables, they would have also been restrictive. If there is indeed a correspondence between the length of a poetic form and its social use, with brevity indicating intimacy and length suggesting openness toward the public,[24] then the magnitude of Tokiko's enterprise required the longest of platforms. *Chōka* fit the bill: its open-ended format, with alternating lines of five and seven syllables but otherwise lacking any length restrictions, enabled Tokiko to cover all the bases and to digress as much as she saw fit. The actual length of her petition may indeed be a good indicator of the social importance (and even visionary hope) she vested on her mission: the final version consists of more than 150 lines.[25] Moreover, long poems carried the prestige of tradition; the earliest examples are found in the eighth-century *Anthology of Ten Thousand Leaves (Manʻyōshū),* where they are used for private as much as for public proclamations.[26]

Lastly, Tokiko broke with the mold of ritualized patterns because her gender demanded she do so. Her long poem needed to accomplish more than just advocate for the emperor's intervention to solve a crisis: it also needed to explain and justify a base-born woman's decision to step into action and to rise above her lot to approach the court. With that, it needed to celebrate her ability to become the pivot that could steer history in a new direction. This brings us to the poem's content.

The petition opens with a tribute to the land of the rising sun, created in the distant age of the gods and destined to shine, unchanged, "until the end of time." It then recounts the arrival upon Japanese soil of the foreign barbarians, who came in their ships "surging like white-crested waves." The country capitulated "all because of the will of a certain official named Ii [Naosuke]" and his accomplice, the Senior Councilor (*rōjū*) Manabe Akikatsu.[27] Besides betraying the country, Ii unjustly imprisoned the only voice of reason, the lord of Mito Tokugawa Nariaki. Moreover, as the following verses clarify, he squandered precious resources and disrespected the imperial court:

Ayanaku madou	In collusion with
nubatama no	his accomplice Manabe,
kokoro no yami no	who is lost, without direction,
kurakarishi	and whose heart
kuroki Manabe o	has turned
kataraite	pitch black,
isaoshi aredo	[Ii] imprisoned
toga no naki	my august lord,
kashikoki kimi o	who has all but merit
oshikomete	and no blame;
kogane no iro o	he wasted
yamabuki no	gold
hana chiru gotoni	as if scattering
makichirashi	yellow flowers
omoki kumoi o	and had no respect for
osorenaki	the lofty [court] above the clouds:
takumi no hodo zo	how manipulative!

The first part of the petition, and especially Tokiko's understanding of history, impels us to pause and clarify her relation to Mito ideology (Mitogaku)—or to whatever remnants thereof still lingered in 1859. (Harootunian postulates that by the late 1850s Mito ideology, shaken at the core after the signing of the 1858 treaties, was virtually dead in the water.)[28]

Like all systems of thought, Mito ideology was never a monolith. In general terms, it is fair to count the view of the emperor as the spiritual leader of the country (with the shogun as de facto ruler), the belief in the existence of a pure "national essence" distinctive to the divine land of Japan, and the determination to obliterate any threat—foreign or domestic—to such an idealized "original order" among its basic principles.[29] Tokiko would have agreed with most of these ideas. At the same time, other aspects of her persona and of her cosmology would have put her at odds with the traditional Mito scholars.

First, as a commoner-turned-activist Tokiko would have been the target of harsh criticism on the part of early Mito ideologues, whose concern was with the reaffirmation of a social order in which "designations and duties" were set, the masses (ignorant by default) existed to be ruled, and disregard for one's place in society equaled moral failure.[30] Therefore, while Tokiko responded to the sense of frustration felt across her domain in the 1850s and 1860s in ways that reflected some principles of Mito thought, in other respects—first and foremost her rising above her lot in life—she marched to the beating of her own drum.

Second, Tokiko, who came from the Shugendō tradition and who had described her determination to reach Kyoto as springing from Mount Sumeru, the center of the Buddhist universe, was always critical of Mito's treatment of Buddhism. The domain had a history of persecuting Buddhism: in the 1660s domain lord Tokugawa Mitsukuni razed more than half of the domain's temples. The assaults continued in the 1830s, under Nariaki. Temples were destroyed, statues and bells were melted, and orders went out for the population to enroll in the registers of Shinto shrines.[31] To Mito's hostility toward Buddhism Tokiko responded (in a document dated 1864) by bemoaning the attacks on temples and worrying that her domain would turn into an unwelcoming place for "the celestial beings."[32]

Third, her view of history was different from that of the Mito scholars—which brings us back to the petition. As Victor Koschmann points out, nineteenth-century Mitogaku was predicated upon holistic notions of change over time; Aizawa Seishisai, for example, envisioned Japanese history as a cycle with alternating spells of laxity, retrenchments, and rebellions.[33] His approach to history, adds Harootunian, privileged cause-and-effect dynamics and a concern for continuity.[34] Such attention to the smooth rhythms of the *longue-durée* is absent from Tokiko's petition, whose view of history is compressed and predicated upon ruptures. In the poem, the mythical age of the gods gives almost sudden way to the foreign intrusion and to Ii's betrayal. What interests Tokiko is the collapse of a seemingly (and conveniently) immobile order precipitated by the arrival of the barbarians; the abrupt chronological jump between one historical moment and the other allows her to make a case for the magnitude of such disruption and for the catastrophic state of the country in her day and age.

Just as remarkable, and a last point of divergence, is the fact that Tokiko would name names, using the petition to present Ii as a shortsighted, vindictive, and conniving squanderer who orchestrated "despicable and wretched schemes" in cahoots with an equally corrupt Manabe and in complete disregard of the emperor's will. At a time when denunciation of existing political institutions was prudently carried out (if at all) by way of metaphor, and when even Mito scholars treaded lightly in their criticism (Aizawa Seishisai, for example, had insisted that one must obey the laws of the Tokugawa government),[35] Tokiko is refreshingly, shockingly outspoken. Short of indicting Ii Naosuke and exculpating Tokugawa Nariaki, however, Tokiko did not articulate any large-scale plan for reform.

Her rising above her lot in life and her stance on religion, history, and politics force us to conclude that, while using the ideological scaffolding of Mitogaku would provide a tempting frame within which to inscribe Tokiko's

actions, such temptation must in fact be avoided. If Mitogaku principles ever reached Tokiko's ears, they did so as fragments, incomplete and bent out of shape. In any case, even if it had reached her intact, ideology, like every other paradigm, would then have had to come to terms with Tokiko's penchant for squaring the abstract with the practical. Once again, the lessons she had learned in the classroom and in the Hōjuin guided her: theory had to adapt to reality. Moreover, even though Tokiko was connected to various networks, she never spoke as the representative of a larger group: she always and only spoke in the first person and with an eye to the present. It is to the present tense and to the first person that the second part of her poem indeed turns.

Whereas the first half of the poem portrays history in a wide-angle, fast-forwarding from the mythological age of the gods to the ongoing crisis, in the second half the pace slows down and the camera zooms in, bringing the individual into the picture. In this section Tokiko answers the following questions: How did she become involved? Why would a putative nobody from a rural village feel impelled to approach the emperor and change the course of history?

Here Tokiko begins by readjusting, if cautiously, her social coordinates: the Kurosawa clan, she suggests, descended in fact from none other than "the meritorious Fujiwara / who come from the line of [living] gods [i.e., emperors] / originating with / [the sun goddess] Amaterasu." Of the many biographers and apologists who have written about Tokiko in the early twentieth century, only one, Tatebayashi Miyatarō, has picked up on this claim. In his *Kurosawa Rikkyō* (1937) Tatebayashi explains that the Kurosawa of Suzugoya were the descendants of Kamakura-period lord Nikaidō Tamenori and that the Nikaidō were a branch of the Fujiwara clan.[36] Writing in the heyday of genetics and eugenics, Tatebayashi found the Fujiwara connection especially useful to argue that Tokiko's loyalty to the emperor was a quality she had "inherited" from her ancestors (see chapter 10). The silence of all other biographers (and of Tokiko herself beyond this poem), however, suggests that the claim may have been in fact fictitious. Even if it had been founded, the fact remains that, by the nineteenth century, the Kurosawa were far removed from Fujiwara-level status; in the petitionary poem Tokiko indeed admits to having been "born far from heaven, in the countryside." Nonetheless, real or not, the mentioning of a Fujiwara blood tie helped Tokiko in two important ways: first, it added poetic luster to her verses and second, it established a plausible (if thin) bridge between the imperial court and the rural Mito village. In the verses that follow, Tokiko proceeds to cross that bridge.

Uninvolved in politics, she tells us, she was just a schoolteacher ("I have made of the way of teaching / my occupation") caring for her aging mother.

But then, one day, echoes of Ii's "evil deeds" (*akuji*) came to her "in the words of the people of the floating world." She discussed the matter with her mother:

koto o tsubarani	We talked this over
kataraite	in detail;
shibashi no itoma	when I asked her
koikereba	for a short leave
tomoni kokoro o	she joined in
soirarete	with her spirit [i.e., she agreed].
mikuni no tame ni	"For the sake of the country,
toki o eba	it is high time to
hayatoku ike to	go quickly and go fast," she said.

Having linked macro- and microhistory, the imperial court and the rural village, the august descendant of Amaterasu and the woman born far from heaven, Tokiko then narrates her own journey from one world to the other:

Asaborake	At dawn,
hi mo tachiizuru	in my travel outfit, I parted with
koromode[37] *no*	Hitachi Province,
Hitachi o idete	where the sun rises,
Shikishima no	longing for
michi aru miyo o	the ancient age
shitaitsutsu	of Japan;
tsue o chikara no	with a cane for strength
tabi no sora	I followed
tadoru mo kimi ga	the travelers' sky,
miyo no tame	always thinking this was
omoitsuzukeshi	for the sake of my lord's reign.
oi ga mi no	With a brave heart
yatakegokoro wa	in an old body
haru no no o	I trod back and forth
iku mo kaeru mo	the fields of spring.
azusayumi	Catalpa bow:
harukeki michi o	pulled
sasakani no	a long way,
ito mo tayumazu	untiringly,
hikiaete	the spider's thread tight,
kumo no ue made	with the thought of crossing

kekebashi o	the suspended bridge
wataru omoi ga	that leads above the clouds.

Here Tokiko presents her other credentials—she is an old woman, yes, but also brave and resolute; a base-born nobody, yes, but also a loyal subject (yearning to reestablish the ancient age of Japan) and a person conversant with the gods (the catalpa bow whose sound entices the spirits).

The poetic images from this section of the petition recall those in the verses Tokiko had written at Nenohigahara at the time of her fourth encounter with the forces of history (see chapter 3) in a way that creates, for the modern reader, a sense of continuity and consistency within her oeuvre. To Tokiko at the time these inner echoes would have indicated—and celebrated—the successful transition from vision to action: what at Nenohigahara was a budding idea, at this point, months and miles later, had coalesced into a concrete undertaking. Once again, Tokiko had applied the lessons from her experience in the classroom and in the Hōjuin, squaring ideals with practice, abstraction with reality.

Having created a sense of continuity between script and action, between past and present, Tokiko introduces the idea of hope for the future in the final section of the long poem:

Mikuni no tame to	Day and night,
asayū ni	over and over,
chijini kokoro wa	I wondered what to do
kudake to mo	for the sake of my august country.
tada hitosuji ni	In the end I resolved
yukimizu no	to purify myself
Semi no ogawa ni	in the flowing waters
misogi shite	of the Semi River[38] [i.e., come to Kyoto]
harubaru kinuru	so I have come here from far away
tabigoromo	wearing my travel outfit.
akatsuki nagara	At dawn
uguisu no	the first song
hatsune no kyō no	of the nightingale
kotobuki ya	is an auspicious sign for today;
nozue ni niou	it sends
ume ga ka o	the scent of plum blossoms
amatsu sora made	from the edge of the fields
tsutaeage	up to heaven.
osore ōku mo	Graciously
hisakata no	I bow

kumoi no niwa ni	in the celestial garden
nukazukite	above the clouds
osoremi osoremi	and ever
tsuzushimite	so humbly
mōsu koto no ha	offer You
tatematsuru nari	these words.[39]

The leitmotif here is that of auspicious new beginnings, symbolized not only by the poetic images of the spring, the dawn, and the first song of the nightingale, but also by the religious notion of purification through ritual ablution—once again, Tokiko the poet embraces Tokiko the religious specialist. The poem that had begun on a dark note, with the arrival of the foreign barbarians, the evil deeds of Ii Naosuke, and Manabe's pitch-black heart, ends here with a hint of optimism for a possible resolution.

It is worth noting that the pivot facilitating the transition from chaos to order, from dark days to auspicious ones to come, is none other than Tokiko herself, though she does not say so explicitly—aiming the spotlight directly at herself would have been tasteless, and as a poet she knew better. What Tokiko did, however, was to position herself in the scene by way of allusion: transmogrified into the scent of plum blossoms, the poet Tokiko (whose pen name included the character for plum) rose from "the edge of the fields" to the "celestial garden above the clouds"—from Suzugoya to Kyoto. And there, with deferential words proffered as if in the actual presence of Kōmei, Tokiko's long journey, Tokiko's long poem, and Tokiko's transformation into a full-fledged political activist all came to an end.

The poem had three main goals. First, it vilified Ii and Manabe and proclaimed Tokugawa Nariaki's innocence, thus advocating his release from home confinement; second, it outlined and justified the intervention of a woman "born far from heaven," enabling her to claim a legitimate voice; and third, it provided a vision of hope for the future. Overall, it linked the world of ordinary people to major historical developments, the lowly peripheries to the imperial court, proclaiming in no uncertain terms that even a humble subject could rise from the former to rescue the latter.

The content of the poem is important not only for what it says but also for what it fails to mention. As exhaustive as it was, the poem left out one important detail: nowhere in its 150-some odd lines is there any reference to the comet that had shaken Tokiko's world in the fall of 1858, first alerting her to the distress signals from heaven. I will return to this silence in chapter 5. For now, let us trace the sequence of events that followed Tokiko's penning of her poetic petition.

DOORS AND GATES

As much as she believed in the ability of the individual to make a leap into history, Tokiko would not have been so naïve as to think she could gain access to the court and present the petition into the hands of Emperor Kōmei. While she did not articulate her precise expectations in her Kyoto travel journal, years later, in 1873, she penned another long poem in which she acknowledged the disjunction between ideals and reality. Reminiscing about "the time now past" when she "gave it my all / for the sake of my lord / and for the sake of my country," she mused:

Ima wa ta kimi ni	Had I had the chance
mamienaba	to meet
mōshiagetaki	with my lord
kotonoha no	I would have had so much to say:
tsumoru omoi no	mountains
yamayama o	of words
katarau koto no	and accumulated thoughts,
kazukazu wa	as many
hama no masago ni	as the grains of sand
kotonarazu	on a beach.
shikawa aredomo	Alas,
kumoue yori	while he may
amasagaritsuru	come down
kimi nareba	from above the clouds,
au kotogatashi	meeting is not easy.[40]

Unlike the poetic gates of the celestial garden above the clouds, the actual doors to the imperial court could not be opened, at least not by Tokiko. However, if the front access remained shut, Tokiko could always deliver her message through the backdoor. The story of her days in Kyoto is indeed the chronicle of her search for such a backdoor. Once again, old networks and advance planning proved useful.

On 3/27, two days after her arrival, Tokiko visited Kitano Tenmangū, the shrine dedicated to the spirit of Sugawara no Michizane (845–903), and met with the head priest Keien. Through him she hoped to be introduced to the former imperial counselor (*zendainagon*) Higashibōjō Sugawara Tokinaga (1799–1861). In 1854 Higashibojō had been selected for the post of *densō,* the liaison between the emperor and the Tokugawa. He was, in other words, the backdoor Tokiko needed. Unfortunately, in late 1858 Higashibōjō had fallen

out of grace for having interceded on behalf of Senior Councilor Hotta Masayoshi on the issue of the Ansei Treaties; by the time Tokiko arrived in Kyoto, he had resigned and was under home confinement.

Keien thus referred Tokiko to official (*tai'i*) and loyalist Saida Sahei (Ubei) Koresada (1800–1859).[41] A renowned man of letters and history connoisseur, Koresada is listed in the 1852 edition of *Record of Important People in Heian* (*Heian jinbutsu shi*), a Who's Who of scholars and "men of taste" in Kyoto.[42] Koresada's political ideas are best represented in a treatise titled *Foundations of the Country* (*Kokki*), which he coauthored in 1837. There, Koresada uses the example of China to decry the degeneration that ensues when foreigners arrive: "The stench of the barbarians penetrated China," he writes, and "people who for thousands of years had shown ritual respect changed and took on the habits of dogs and sheep [i.e., beasts]; their manners became corrupted." *Foundations* shows Koresada's interest in issues related to the proper administration of the realm (*tenka*) ("the realm is a precious treasure. The people are the foundation of the country"),[43] as well as his conviction that the realm must be protected at all costs. His stance, as (presciently) expressed in this work, is encapsulated in a slogan that would have resonated well with Tokiko: "Tell good from evil. Revere the ruler. Expel the barbarians."[44]

Keien knew Koresada because the two had cooperated in creating a monument featuring Sugawara no Michizane's spurious "dying instructions." The actual author of the instructions was, in fact, Higashibōjō. In *Letters from the Kyoto Incarceration* Tokiko explains:

> It is a document written by the former Imperial Counselor [Higashibōjō Sugawara] Tokinaga, the descendant of the Tenmangū [Michizane], thirty-one generations down the line. By the good grace of Saida Ubei Koresada . . . it was carved in stone and erected [as a monument] at the Tenmangū. It is a document carved on a monument with the intention of making it available to all people so that it would serve them as guidance. . . . It proclaims, among other things, "Hail the eternal mystery of the country of the gods."[45]

With Higashibōjō out of the picture, Koresada, a loyalist with credentials to enter the court, was the open backdoor Tokiko needed. It was indeed to Koresada that she showed her long poem on 3/28.

How did Tokiko know of Keien, Higashibōjō, and Koresada? Once again, it was through networking. In the fall of 1858, a traveling poetry master from Shimōsa by the name of Morita Yoshio (one of her tutors) had visited Tokiko in Suzugoya. On that occasion, he had shown her a Chinese poem penned by

Higashibōjō. The poem, written in praise of the "national" body (*kokutai*), had been requested by Koresada; Keien had then carved it onto a stone monument.[46] Gunji Atsunobu speculates that the poem was part of the dying instructions attributed to Sugawara no Michizane.[47] Moreover, in a poetry collection put together after the completion of the Kyoto journey, Tokiko explains that before the trip a certain Yokokura, an acquaintance of Keien's, had given her a fan inscribed with this poem—the equivalent of an introductory note:

Hisakata no	If ever shall you meet
kumo no ue naru	with the court nobles
miyabito ni	above the heavenly clouds,
itsuka au ki no	let this be a letter
kaze no tayori o	carried by the wind.[48]

In the same collection Tokiko includes a poem Keien had sent to Yokokura. In other words, there was a direct and ongoing conversation between the loyalists in the imperial capital (and within the court) and Tokiko's acquaintances in and around Mito. Like her choice to lodge at the Ōgiya inn, her visit to the Kitano Tenmangū and her approaching of Keien were the result of instructions and advice conveyed via an extended network of loyalists and poets.

Having delivered the petition to Koresada, Tokiko returned to the Ōgiya, where she spent a sleepless night wondering whether "this could be the beginning of great things to come."[49] On 3/29 she rose early, visited Kiyomizu Temple and Fushimi Inari Shrine, then went to Osaka, where she met with an old friend. The following day, the first day of the fourth month, Tokiko stayed with her friend and spent hours "telling tales of elegance and refinement." When the friend brought out a copy of *The True Record of Ōshio Heihachirō* (*Ōshio Heihachirō no jitsuroku*), the story of a government official's 1837 rebellion against the shogunate, Tokiko shed tears. As Ivan Morris points out, mid-nineteenth-century loyalists idolized Heihachirō ("quite mistakenly") as a dedicated enemy of the Tokugawa.[50] To Tokiko, the parable of Heihachirō must have held a special appeal, for it could be read as the story both of Tokugawa Nariaki and of Tokiko herself. On the one hand, Heihachirō epitomized the idea of dissention from within the ranks of the establishment and a commitment to righting wrongs. In this respect, the parallel with Nariaki would have been hard to miss. On the other, the content of Heihachirō's manifesto mirrored in many ways Tokiko's assessment of her own day and age: corrupt bureaucrats, a world in chaos, the need to restore harmony in the land, and a call to action directed to common people.[51] Like Tokiko, Heihachirō had experienced disillusionment and had turned to action; like her understanding of the

tenka kokka, his vision was one in which ordinary individuals united directly under the emperor, no middleman needed.[52] Like Tokiko, Heihachirō had intervened with a written petition in hopes to avert the exacerbation of an existing crisis, the Osaka famine. And while he did not see the famine as an "act of heaven" (*tensai*) but as an "act of the government" (*seisai*), in his manifesto he did read natural calamities as manifestations of heaven's disapproval.[53] Tokiko, here, may have thought about her own encounter with the comet: the disasters of 1837 had motivated Heihachirō to voice his dissatisfaction just as the white comet of 1858 had prompted her to look for other signs from the heavens and leap into history.

Meanwhile, in Kyoto, the petition was making the rounds. Which rounds exactly, however, is hard to say. In his 1900 biography of Tokiko, Gunji Atsunobu claims that Koresada was impressed with Tokiko's poetic skills; he thus turned over the poem to Higashibōjō until it came to the attention of the emperor.[54] A similar claim appears in *Talented Women of the Restoration Period* (*Ishinki no saijotachi,* 1980), according to which Tokiko's petition quickly reached the hands of Kōmei.[55] *Lives of Restoration Loyalists* (*Ishin shishi meimeiden,* 1935) also argues that Koresada delivered the petition to Higashibōjō and that, through him, "it ultimately entered the imperial palace, where it was offered to the emperor for perusal."[56] A bit more nebulous, but leaning toward a declaration of success, is the version from Horiuchi Seiu's *One Hundred Heroes of the Restoration* (*Ishin hyakketsu,* 1910), according to which "the lord [Higashibōjō] Tokinaga deeply understood [Tokiko's] determination and unswerving loyalty, and that very evening he offered [the poem] for perusal."[57] At the opposite end of the spectrum, Nunomura Yasuhiro contends that, following the Ansei Purges and the arrests of several members of the Kyoto aristocracy, the anti-Tokugawa side had been decimated and that therefore delivering the petition to court would have been next to impossible.[58] Other sources claim that, hailing from Mito and having stayed at the Ōgiya, a notorious haunt of Mito loyalists, Tokiko had caught the eye of the authorities from day one. With the volatile situation in Kyoto (as exemplified by the recent arrest of Muraoka no Tsubone and the hunt for Koibuchi Jihei) and with government officials on high alert, her encounter with Saida Koresada would not have gone unnoticed.[59]

While the exact trajectory of the petition may be veiled in mystery, its final destination is known: the office of the Kyoto City Magistrate. Orders for Tokiko's arrest went out. As Tsuji Michiko reminds us, a total of eight women were arrested and sentenced in the Ansei era for denouncing the policies of Ii Naosuke. Of these, six were guilty by association for being the wives or daughters of male loyalists; only two were arrested because they were considered fully responsible for their own actions: Muraoka no Tsubone and Kurosawa Tokiko.[60]

While Tokiko would have had no way of knowing it at the time, such a dubious honor proved that she had been right all along: even a nobody could step into the center stage of history.

Even the most meticulous of scripts, in the end, does not guarantee success. On the evening of 4/1 Tokiko was walking home from a public bathhouse in Osaka when two guards approached and arrested her. "They pulled out a rope from under their sleeves, tied me up, and took me away. I am fifty-four years old, and for the first time [in my life] I am tied up [i.e., arrested] for the sake of the realm" (*tenka no tame ni*).[61] After a long journey from her rural village to the imperial capital and from the margins to the center stage, and after coming ever so close to the gates of the celestial court above the clouds, Tokiko now prepared to walk past the very real doors of prison.

5 ✳ Caged Bird

Kimi ga tame	I have long
kokoro wa chijini	agonized
kudakake no	for my lord, and for him
toya no sumai mo	I did not mind
itowazarikeri	living in a cage.

Kurosawa Tokiko, "Caged Bird" (*Kago no tori*)[1]

Tokiko chronicles her arrest and incarceration in a long, two-part memoir titled *Letters from the Kyoto Incarceration* (*Kyōto toraware no fumi*, 1859).[2] The memoir contains extensive recollections, in the form of direct quotations, of the conversations that occurred between herself and the magistrates in Osaka, Kyoto, and Edo. In the modern era, prison diaries would become a veritable literary genre,[3] although precedents had already been established in the Edo period, for example by Yoshida Shōin (1830–1859). From a literary and historical standpoint, *Letters from the Kyoto Incarceration* makes an important contribution to the genre not simply by adding the perspective of a woman but also by showing how deeply gender permeated late-Tokugawa legal proceedings.

Diana Wright has argued that justice and punishment in the Tokugawa period were relatively gender-blind and that status or age weighed more heavily in the decision-making process of the authorities.[4] Tokiko's case supports the claim that status was part of the conversation (as we will see, in her defense she highlighted her commoner status, and her sentence focused on the fact that she had slandered high-level officials). At the same time, however, her prison memoir also draws attention to a strong gender consciousness within the penal system. For this reason, historians interested in the penal proceedings of the Tokugawa period as well as gender historians would greatly benefit from reading *Letters from the Kyoto Incarceration.* That such a document would

have gone hitherto unnoticed and untapped is as surprising as it is unfortunate.

The gender angle is not novel. So many decades have elapsed since scholars first became attuned to the notion that gender is a useful category of analysis,[5] and so many monographs have successfully written female actors into history, that it is easy to take women's presence for granted and to become jaded against those who trumpet gender as a meaningful paradigm. Moreover, in a historiographical landscape where everyone—from women to peasants, from outcasts to nonhuman animals—has been assigned some degree of agency, a female activist can hardly hope to make the headlines. Gender history has established itself in academia, and we have moved on to other avenues of investigation; historians, after all, are expected to say something new about the old.

In snubbing the gender issue as passé or dismissing it as "done," however, we would fail to recognize that, in the eyes of the people who populated Tokiko's world, and of Tokiko herself, gender was a relevant category. Along with status and geographical location, gender defined one person's place in society as well as the gamut of activities such a person was expected and allowed to perform. Gender also determined the kind of information to which one (theoretically) had access—as the Mito woman Yamakawa Kikue proved with her assertion that it was not "customary to tell women anything about what was going on in the outside world."[6] Gender factored in as a variable in the criminal codes as well: Tokugawa period regulations pertaining to the handling of exile prisoners, for example, included special instructions for women.[7]

Not only a useful category of analysis for the contemporary historian, gender was also, and more importantly, a basic yardstick through which Tokiko and her contemporaries measured the extent of what was feasible and acceptable. Consequently, gender categories permeated Tokiko's vocabulary as well as that of the people around her, as many of the anecdotes included in *Letters from the Kyoto Incarceration* prove. Before fleeing north, for example, Shishido Nakatsukasa had told her that the Ansei Purges had made it difficult for him "as a man" (*danshi nite*) to take to the road, a gender-tinged comment Tokiko did not fail to catch and to which she replied, "Having heard of such grave matters, even though I am a woman [*fujin nagara mo*] I could not ignore them."[8] Following her arrest, gender featured prominently both in the accusations leveled against her and in her defense strategy. Seeing in Tokiko a living reminder that the social norms pertaining to the control of women were crumbling, the shogunal officials reacted with a mixture of incredulity and condescension occasionally bordering on anger. In examining the authorities' reaction to female political activism, this chapter argues that gender doubled the anxiety the Tokugawa representatives felt toward the loyalist movement by raising the added

specter of female insubordination. Used cleverly as part of a defense argument, however, gender could in fact aid the accused, who would underscore the gravity of a crisis so deep *even a woman* felt impelled to act. Mundane explanations, however, could only go so far, and, as this and the following chapters will show, divine intervention was also needed to get a woman out of trouble.

GENDERED LOGICS ON BOTH SIDES OF THE LAW

Following her arrest in Osaka, Tokiko was questioned and imprisoned. Her clothes, hair, and sleeves were searched; her comb and hairpins confiscated. Some versions of her story inform us that, packed with her travel gear, the guards found the rough draft of the petition.[9]

On the third day of the fourth month she was brought before the "courtyard of white sands" (*shirasu*) for formal questioning. As Dani Botsman explains, prisoners brought before the courtyard of white sands were already presumed guilty. Low-level functionaries carried out the first, informal interrogation, which took place immediately after one's arrest. Its goal was to ascertain the basics of the case and to determine whether the person under arrest was guilty or innocent. Bringing an innocent person or even just a shaky case before the courtyard would have made for a slow trial and, worse yet, would have undermined the seriousness of the process by implying "that officials did not *already* know whether a person was guilty or not." "Fallibility of any kind," adds Botsman, "was something the warrior state was loath to admit."[10]

During her stint in Osaka, Tokiko was questioned several times. Her interrogators brought up the issue of gender from day one—though not immediately as an incriminating factor. They too had the welfare of the realm in mind and commended Tokiko for having had "no qualms about following the path of loyalty."[11] Unlike her, however, they anchored the prosperity of the realm on the stability of the shogunate. Their approach thus hinged on what they presented as a flaw not in Tokiko's sentiment, which they found admirable, but in her logic: "You are a woman, so you have pure intentions. . . . Yet, if you act for the sake of the realm and of the country (*tenka kokka no ontame*), explain to us why you say that the current [prime] minister, the lord Ii, is evil."[12] In the early stages of the interrogation the officials professed appreciation for Tokiko's (misplaced) loyalty in order to put her at ease and obtain a quick confession: "If you are determined indeed to follow the Way of Japan (*Nihon no michi*), then do not be afraid, speak without concealing anything." The modern reader may catch a hint of condescension in their words. To Tokiko, however, their demeanor registered less as paternalistic and more as sympathetic; she was

grateful for their "gracious words" (*megumi no kotoba*) and described one of them as "a brave man of wisdom and benevolence."[13]

Perhaps comforted by such gracious words, on 4/11 Tokiko gave her first version of the story: she had heard of Nariaki's unfair punishment and of the false charges; shocked, she had decided to inform the court "in order to spare the emperor any misfortune." "I see, I see . . . ," mumbled one interrogator. And with that, the questioning ended.[14]

The next day she was summoned again and was informed she would be transferred to Kyoto. "When you get there," one of her captors advised her, "tell them exactly what you told us and you will be released in no time. Make sure to tell them that you are in poor health, and you will have nothing to worry about. In Kyoto, too, they will be sympathetic."[15]

In Kyoto Tokiko found herself surrounded by other people arrested "in conjunction with the Mito situation," likely a reference to the fallout from the debate over the secret decree as well as to the Ansei Purges. Locked up in the same prison were Aoki Ukyōnosuke (1832–?), the high steward (*taifu*) of the lord Takatsukasa Masamichi,[16] and Irie Iori, the high steward of the Nijō clan. Surveillance was so strict that Tokiko likened the guards to Enma, the King of Hell.[17]

On 4/14 Tokiko faced her new interrogators for the first time. If the officials in Osaka had played the gender card to lure her to their side ("You are a woman, so you have pure intentions"), in Kyoto gender became an incriminating factor: as a woman, she surely had needed the help of (male) accomplices, and she was expected to provide their names. There was no trace, in Kyoto, of the compassion she had been promised; paternalism gave way to heavy accusations and even threats. The gracious words she had heard in Osaka were replaced by "shrewd words" (*surudoki kotoba*).[18] Male fears of female activism had coalesced.

Nowhere is the anxiety of her captors more evident than in the fact that, in Kyoto, Tokiko was threatened with torture.[19] Dani Botsman's study of the Tokugawa criminal system helps us understand the significance of such a threat. Torture was used more frequently during the first stage of questioning in order to establish whether the case could stand trial. The use of torture at subsequent stages was allowed only in the case of grave crimes and when the evidence of guilt was undisputed.[20] When the Kyoto functionaries intimidated Tokiko with torture after she had already stood before the courtyard, they sent a clear message: this was a serious and troubling case. Even though the details of her mission remained fuzzy in the absence of a confession, her presence alone proved her defiance of gender roles. In this respect, she was already guilty.

The night of 4/14 was a sleepless one for Tokiko. She kept reliving her mission to Kyoto and her attempt to contact the emperor ("It was for the sake of my lord, I reasoned in my heart, all night long, over and over") while dreading the arrival of a new day and of a new wave of interrogations.[21] A long poem she included in one of her collections several years later (1873) describes, perhaps with retroactively added flair, that restless night. In it we find a dejected and silenced "caged bird" locked in a prison that echoed with the tolls of the evening bell and the shouts of the night guards. The night eventually gave way to dawn and to new ominous sounds: the crows of roosters, the croaks of ravens.[22]

When she was brought before the officials the next day, her gender was, again, at the root of the conversation ("You, being a woman . . ."). However, a new element had been added to the proceedings: better to obtain a confession, various instruments of torture were lined up on full display. The threat never came to fruition, and Tokiko herself concluded that "there was no indication I would be tortured," at least not that day.[23] That the officials did not resort to torture is significant only in retrospect; Tokiko was in no position to determine whether they were bluffing, or what kind of course the events would take in the days ahead. To her the threat was real. "Old and frail as I am, I prepare to die tomorrow," she wrote on the evening of 4/14. "Should I die," she asked a fellow prisoner, "please have just a Buddhist memorial service."[24]

By 4/18 the officials had patched up the basics of her case, but were still trying to work out the gender issue. Especially puzzling to them was the fact that, as a woman, Tokiko could have carried out such a mission without any help. Already on the first day of questioning Tejima Keinosuke, chief investigator and interrogator, had confronted her with this accusation: "As a woman, you cannot possibly have traveled alone, someone must have escorted you."[25] They also suspected that a man had authored the petition and that Nariaki's wife, Tominomiya (Teihōin Yoshiko), had asked Tokiko to take it to Kyoto: "Were you not sent by the wife of the Mito lord? Someone else must have written this long poem, then they entrusted it to you. Tell the truth!"[26] Anne Walthall has examined the ways in which women were recruited as intermediaries between prominent (male) figures in the late Tokugawa period.[27] That Tokiko's interrogators would see her as one such liaison may indicate awareness of such practice. Additionally, their vision of a grand conspiracy theory involving other female figures, namely Nariaki's wife, betrays a high level of anxiety about female insubordination, a troubling variation on the theme of treason.

Their doubts about the authorship of the petition, moreover, illuminate yet another side of such anxiety. In a day and age when women commonly joined

literati circles, questioning a woman's ability to write verses (in Japanese, no less) made little sense, and indeed the issue of authorship per se was not what concerned the officials: what concerned them was the alleged purpose of the long poem. In their eyes, the poem was "possibly [meant] to overthrow the realm" (*tenka o kutsugaesan tame ka*).[28] Incapable of seeing in a woman "just" one isolated case of activism, they were equally unable to see the petition as "just" the outburst of one disgruntled individual.

Though they did not articulate this point on the first day, during the interrogation of 4/15 they explicitly asked Tokiko whether the long poem contained encrypted messages. They wondered whether "an official named Ii" indicated Naosuke (to which she answered in the affirmative), whether "scattering yellow flowers" stood for "bribing" (it did, confirmed Tokiko), and whether the line "the source of my deep resolve is as deep as a mountain spring" was not in fact code for Nariaki ("No, by that I mean a water source"). Tokiko also explained that a line in which she suggested that she was "grateful for living under the Tokugawa of Mito" did not refer to Nariaki's seventh son, Hitotsubashi Keiki (Tokugawa Yoshinobu, 1837–1913), being chosen as shogun.[29] During yet another round of interrogations the issue of encryption resurfaced:

> Interrogator: One of the supplements to the long poem we found in Osaka says:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | *Amagashita*[30] | The true spirit of a lowly person |
> | *terasu hikari no* | reflected, pure, |
> | *masukagami* | on the shiny surface |
> | *sayakani utsusu* | of the mirror |
> | *shizu ga magokoro* | under heaven. |
>
> Is the shiny surface of the mirror under heaven a reference to the Middle Councilor [Nariaki]?
>
> Tokiko: No, that indicates one of the three sacred regalia of the august emperor, the mirror in the Office of Palace Attendants (Naishidokoro).[31]

While the interrogators were mistaken in this particular instance, their suspicions were not entirely unjustified, for Tokiko was no stranger to embedding messages in her verses. A poignant example is found in a poem she composed at a later time, in the early 1860s:

Azumaji ni	On the road to the east
omou kokoro o	the storm lures

kimi ga moto e	my thoughts
sasou arashi o	back to your place,
matsukage no io	the hut in the pines' shade.[32]

These seemingly innocuous verses hide not one but two references to known loyalists. The characters for "pines' shade" (*matsukage*) can also be read "Shōin," revealing an indirect tribute to Yoshida Shōin, one of the key figures of the loyalist movement. While there is no indication that Tokiko ever met Shōin in person, she certainly knew of him; as a later chapter will discuss, the two were incarcerated in Edo's Tenmachō prison at the same time and were even sentenced on the same day. The second reference is subtler: this poem is an acrostic. The first syllables of each line combine to spell "Aoki-sama," a homage to Aoki Ukyōnosuke, steward of the lord Takatsukasa Masamichi, whom Tokiko had met while imprisoned in Kyoto. In the space of thirty-one syllables, Tokiko thus paid homage to two iconic figures of the loyalist movement, two men whose tribulations Tokiko had, in part, shared.

Tokiko even experimented with acrostics at the time of her incarceration in Kyoto, precisely when she was being accused of hiding messages in her verses. On the second day of the fifth month (after the conversation being discussed here had taken place) she composed a series of poems whose first syllables paid homage to ninth-century minister and loyalist Sugawara no Michizane by spelling out his divine title of Kitano Tenman Daijizai Tenjingū (Kitano Shrine of the Heavenly Deity Tenman Mahesvara; see appendix).[33] Such exercises in allusion were part and parcel of the poet's repertoire and did not ipso facto indicate an intention to commit treason. In Tokiko's case we can read her indirect references to Shōin, Aoki, and Michizane as tributes to people whose devotion to the imperial institution she admired. (In this respect, Tokiko's dealings with Michizane are especially meaningful, and we shall return to them in chapter 6.) The Kyoto interrogators, in short, were not off the mark in suspecting that Tokiko's long poem contained allusions, for it did. Where they may have been mistaken was in attributing to such allusions the power to bring down the government. In voicing this conviction, they betrayed their apprehension not only about activism but also about its intersection with gender.

The variety of accusations leveled at Tokiko suggests that in the eyes of the authorities she had accomplished a mission that was doubly subversive. First, from a political standpoint her actions were inappropriate at best, threatening at worst: she had slandered two government officials, and her petition was possibly an instrument of treason. Had Tokiko been a man, the case would have rested there, as other examples attest. For instance, the posthumous sentence handed out to Ōshio Heihachirō as a symbolic punishment for his 1837

rebellion found him guilty of having "criticized the government."[34] In 1859 Yoshida Shōin was sentenced to death for having "broken the law."[35] But Tokiko was a woman, and her gender too was taken into account: her actions were problematic on an entirely new level because they also ran against the grain of the normative behavior expected of women. The interrogators never failed to bring this point up: "Oh! You, a woman, [acting] for the sake of the realm and of the country: that is unheard of."[36]

Male discomfort with female political activism is not unique to late-Tokugawa Japan. In seventeenth-century England, for example, Lady Eleanor Davies (1590?–1652), considering herself the voice of the prophet Daniel, approached the Archbishop of Canterbury and advised him on international politics. She was arrested and imprisoned; the magistrates who wrote her sentence made sure to specify that her actions "much unbeseemed her sex."[37]

In nineteenth-century Japan as much as in seventeenth-century England, men's reactions to women's activism aimed not only at halting their seditious activities (as would have been the case with men) but also at underscoring, chastising, and/or rectifying the breach in gender roles. For this reason gender often factored in the sentences handed out to women, either as an extenuating or as an aggravating circumstance. In late-Tokugawa Japan such attention to the intersection of gender and punishment transcended ideological divides; as the examples that follow demonstrate, it colored both the proclamations of the shogunate and those of its detractors. While both sides welcomed (within limits) female collaboration, they found themselves unprepared when faced with female opposition.

As an extenuating circumstance, gender sustained attempts to highlight the benevolence of the offended side, and by extension its righteousness. For example, when the Kyoto radicals pilloried Nagano Shuzen's concubine Murayama Taka (Murayama Kazue) at the foot of Sanjō Bridge in 1862, the sign they posted read:

> The nun Murayama Kazue, age fifty-one or fifty-two, . . . concubine of Nagano Shuzen. Since the Year of the Horse [1858] she has been assisting Shuzen in his ruses [i.e., his enforcement of the Ansei Purges], which were uncommonly dauntless and audacious. There is no pardon for such crimes. However, in consideration of the fact that she is a woman [*sono mi joshi taru o motte*], we are tying her hands behind her back but forgoing the death penalty.[38]

In the opposite case, gender was deployed as an aggravating factor, enabling the offended side to hand out severe punishments and to make a strong

statement about its firm expectations on female behavior. For example, the Tokugawa government sent loyalist nun Nomura Bōtō (1806–1867) into exile in 1865 with a sentence that read:

> For attending on scheming fellows and giving them shelter where they would secretly meet with like-minded individuals, for concealing those on the move, and for other such acts of misconduct, not a few of which were utterly inappropriate for a woman [*onna toshite arumajiki shogyō sukunakarazu*] and extremely insolent, she must receive a heavy punishment.[39]

Bōtō's sentence begs the question: what was, then, appropriate for a woman? Gender propriety is a fuzzy concept, one that could and did mean different things to different individuals at different times (and even at the same time). While Tokugawa-era manuals for the education of girls spilled rivers of ink explaining the minutiae of lady-like deportment, there was no strict legal definition of what exactly constituted "appropriate" behavior for a woman. This is not to say, however, that the authorities paid no attention to the issue. In 1789, for example, the Tokugawa government had commissioned an anthology of exemplary lives. The result was *Records of Filial Piety and Righteousness* (*Kankoku kōgiroku* or, simply, *Kōgiroku*), a fifty-volume collection of over eight thousand case studies published in 1801. The exemplary virtues extolled in the anthology included filial piety (the most popular), loyalty, devotion, chastity, the ability to maintain harmonious relations at home and with the extended family in general, as well as manners, purity, benevolence, and diligence in performing agricultural work. As Sugano Noriko points out, in *Records of Filial Piety and Righteousness* the most exemplary of women are those who, by way of their virtues, strove to preserve the household.[40] At the same time, filial piety was not simply a moral imperative but also a convenient way to dress one's questionable actions with the coat of respectability. In her study of prostitution in Tokugawa Japan, for example, Amy Stanley has argued that brothel proprietors and even the Tokugawa state often deployed the notion of filial piety to maintain a façade of benevolence while promoting the sex trade purely in the name of profit.[41]

In court cases as well, notions of appropriate behavior for women hinged on one's devotion to the household and family. Sugano Noriko examined over nine hundred court documents from the Tokugawa period and pointed out that when it came to women most recorded instances of crime and punishment centered on issues of adultery and illicit sex. Moreover, in the case of women, most judicial documents tended to specify "status: married," whereas no such

specification appears in the case of male convicts.[42] Such obsession with a woman's social "place" speaks volumes about the gendered prejudice ingrained in the Tokugawa penal code, which frequently associated female insubordination with the collapse of the household and, by extent, of society writ large.

Preoccupations with gender were not exclusive to the government: as the case of Murayama Taka indicates, they also directed the rhetoric and actions of its opponents. For this reason, the same concerns for gender and for the household that informed the case against Kurosawa Tokiko also colored the narrative choices with which she articulated her first line of defense. From day one in Kyoto, Tokiko responded to the accusations by denying any prior involvement in politics; she also addressed the concerns about gender and, for good measure, cast aspersions on herself by mentioning her low status. "I will tell you the whole story of how, as a base-born nobody, I came to the capital." She explained how she had first become incensed the previous year over matters involving her domain lord:

> Even though I am a woman, I could not pretend I did not hear about that. . . . I believed that the punishment leveled against the former Middle Councilor [Nariaki] was uncommon, that he was framed, and that I should immediately notify the court. Finding it hard to trust the words of a single person, I asked two or three other people and indeed was told that he had been falsely accused. At that point the decision to go to Kyoto became unavoidable.[43]

Tokiko did not miss the chance to censure Ii: "Putting the shogun's family in the hands of a youngster [i.e., twelve-year old Tokugawa Iemochi] was especially unreasonable. . . . I wondered, is this not a selfish act?" Prudently, she added conciliatory words toward the shogun: "I worried about the shogun's family. Up until now, I have received the blessing of peace and have lived in tranquility thanks to the three lords [i.e., emperor, shogun, and domain lord] and the realm. Up until now, I have worked earnestly in the name of the debt I owe my country [*onkoku, mikuni*]."[44]

In formulating her defense, Tokiko tried to turn the gender issue to her advantage by using it as an aggravating factor in her indictment of Ii. She created a narrative in which, first, she denied any previous interest in politics ("Up until now, I . . . have lived in tranquility") and reassured the authorities that she had no accomplices ("despite what you say, I traveled alone") and had never met Nariaki or his wife. She then explained that, if she had acted inappropriately, it was all because Ii had caused a crisis of such magnitude that no loyal

subject, not even a woman, could ignore it. The traitor, in other words, was Ii ("I wondered, is this not a selfish act?"); by contrast, her mission was beneficial to her domain ("I was simply born there and acted because I wanted to pay back for the benevolence of the domain") and to the country in general, shogun included ("I worried about the shogun's family").[45] In short, she was an obedient subject who knew her place, precisely as a woman should, but she had been pulled into the orbit of big history by the extreme circumstances Ii had precipitated. Appropriately, she concluded her explanation with these words: "If you take into account the sorrows and sincere heart of this foolish woman, you will not begrudge me in the least even though I was involved with politics."[46]

To clarify the extent of her loyalty and of her righteousness Tokiko also appealed to Confucian principles and deployed the metaphor of the extended family for the realm:

> As *The Book of Changes* says, "The ruler is the mother and the father of his people, the king of his subjects." As *The Book of Songs* says, nothing exists under heaven that is not the territory of the ruler; there is no subject on earth who is not the retainer of a ruler.[47] I am but a humble person, but I follow the path of [the five Confucian virtues of] benevolence, justice, courtesy, wisdom, and sincerity. . . . If I did something wrong, even if I committed a crime, do not resent me.[48]

The passage from *The Book of Songs* was a favorite of late-Tokugawa loyalists: both Aizawa Seishisai and Yoshida Shōin used it to state the centrality of the emperor;[49] Shōin also used it to decry foreign encroachment while showing respect for the shogun.[50] In admitting that she was a humble subject impelled to repay her domain, Tokiko echoed the argument Yoshida Shōin had made in *Treatise on the Present Situation* (*Jiseiron,* 1858): "Although of humble station, I too am a man of the Imperial Land. . . . While thinking of my parental home with regret because of Duty, it became unendurable for me to sit by, idle and silent, neglecting the repayment of my *on* [debt] to the nation."[51] It is possible that Tokiko was familiar with Shōin's essay at the time of her incarceration, even though he had penned it only one year earlier; as chapter 6 will show, in the third month of 1855 she had acquired a book on the history of China that had just been published the previous year. It is also possible that she included this reference retroactively in 1875, when she edited her original memoir. Either way, her deployment of well-known and frequently exploited examples reveals how loyalists high and low drank from the same source in the hope that

the undisputable truth of the classics would provide an unassailable justification for their acts. As Janine Sawada has demonstrated, in the late Tokugawa period people from a variety of social backgrounds had learned to exploit the polysemy of Confucian texts to legitimize all sorts of personal projects.[52] In Tokiko's case, these quotations were general enough to offer an excuse for various acts of misconduct: in Kyoto, she used them to explain her breach of gender roles; later, in Edo, she repeated them almost verbatim to counteract accusations hinged on her low status.[53]

At the same time, given the gravity of the accusations and the seriousness with which the Kyoto officials treated her case, including allusions to torture, Tokiko realized that blaming her actions on political circumstances alone did not suffice. Precisely because gender was the cause of such heightened anxiety on the part of the shogunal officials, and because her admittedly low status made it especially inappropriate for her to criticize a high-level functionary, her defense had to rely on something greater than personal animosities and "on the ground" circumstances. She had no choice but to bring cosmic forces into the picture, and make them the centerpiece of her story.

THE RISE OF THE COMET

". . . And then, from the middle of the eighth month, a comet began to appear every night. I looked at its color and knew that there was going to be chaos in the realm [*tenka no midare ni mo ainaru beku*]. I worried."[54] In the first version of the events Tokiko provided on 4/14, the comet was part of a complex explanation that included her discovery of the unfair punishment meted out to Nariaki as well as Shishido Nakatsukasa's visit. A few days later, however, the comet was the only topic of discussion.

> Interrogator: So, when the comet appeared you worried. Tell us about it.
> Tokiko: This comet was white, which I believed was an indication of troubled times. Therefore, I became anxious.[55]

Tokiko's insistence in bringing up the color of the comet is striking for two reasons. First, it seems exaggerated, if not contrived. Historical records show that white comets were common. Of the 107 comets mentioned in documents from 634 CE to 1600 CE, forty-six include a note on their color.[56] The vast majority (thirty-three, corresponding to 71.7 percent) was white. In other words, there was nothing especially extraordinary about white comets.

Second, and more to the point, Tokiko's insistence on the color and on its ominous meaning is a recurring feature of her dialogues with the Kyoto inter-

rogators as reported in *Letters from the Kyoto Incarceration,* but not of the writings she penned at the time of the comet's appearance in the fall of 1858. By retroactively underscoring the importance of the color and its dire implications, Tokiko elevated the comet's place in the trajectory of her political activism. In this new version of the story Tokiko presented her actions as triggered not only by Ii's selfishness but also, and more importantly, by a cosmic mandate. She wanted the Kyoto interrogators to know that, though rumors coming from her social circles had initially directed her attention toward politics, it was a cosmic sign that had ultimately propelled her into action. In ascribing her actions to a portent, Tokiko brought into the conversation forces too powerful for the shogunate to neutralize.

The comet, conspicuously absent from the long poem she had written for the emperor, and never so much as hinted at before the Osaka interrogators, rose as one of the pillars of Tokiko's defense strategy in Kyoto. Why now? Because circumstances now demanded it. Tokiko had penned the poem/petition shortly after her arrival in Kyoto, in the comfort of her lodging. Its goal was the glorification of the imperial house and of the realm, coupled with the shaming of Ii Naosuke and Manabe Akikatsu. In its conclusion, moreover, the petition hinted at Tokiko's role as a pivotal figure who could bring about a resolution to the ongoing crisis: the long poem, in other words, was written from a place of strength and confidence. Then came the arrest. In Osaka Tokiko was a prisoner, but she never felt threatened; in fact, she made it a point to extol the gracious words with which the officials spoke to her. In Kyoto the situation was entirely different: the authorities attacked her with "shrewd words," leveled heavy accusations upon her, and used the threat of torture. The rise of the comet in Tokiko's story, therefore, occurred under extreme duress. As a loyalist, Tokiko needed to convince the magistrates that she did not have any prior connection to Nariaki and that she was not part of a wide conspiracy; she thus deployed the portent to deflect their attention from the issue of networking. As a woman, she was in dire need of a comprehensive justification for actions that, in the eyes of the shogunal representatives, not only undermined the authority and possibly the existence of the Tokugawa government but also subverted established social norms for female behavior—a threat wrapped in a menace, so to speak. As an oracle and the daughter of a Shugendō practitioner, Tokiko conceived of the universe as a place where trained individuals could cross bridges between realms of existence. The shogunal officials, however, did not share her view: to them, boundaries were boundaries. It is in light of the Kyoto officials' heightened apprehension about conspiracy networks, gender propriety, and status barriers that Tokiko had to reconfigure the role of the comet in her political awakening.

Tokiko's experience enables us to measure the degree to which women were able to step into the political arena in nineteenth-century Japan. Anne Walthall has argued that the extraordinary events of the late Tokugawa allowed for a momentary reconfiguration of gender roles and obligations, which empowered female political activists like Matsuo Taseko to voice their opinions.[57] Tokiko's decision to step into male turf and to petition the emperor is a testament to the opening of such opportunities. Her story, however, also demonstrates that important limitations remained in place and that the violation of boundaries still carried consequences. Her clash with the authorities and her deployment of the comet in her defense show that a woman's transition from homebound and uninvolved to on-the-move and active did not go unnoticed and still required a solid explanation. The portent provided Tokiko with just such a justification. That she would feel compelled to complement a narrative based on human interactions with one colored by celestial hues precisely (and only) at this point in her story is a good indicator of the obstacles women faced when they acted against the grain even in the fluid climate of the late Tokugawa.

More than a justification, the comet also offered a shield with which Tokiko tried to minimize the severity of her punishment. She did so by emphasizing the contrast between the magnitude of the portent and the inconsequential nature of her actions: she was but "a speck of dust in the wind," and her mission was nothing more than "one drop in the ocean, one hair out of nine cows," that is to say, utterly negligible.[58] The comet thus achieved two seemingly irreconcilable goals: it elevated Tokiko's activism as cosmically mandated and simultaneously reduced it to a drop in the bucket. In this respect, it functioned as the ideal rhetorical device by means of which Tokiko celebrated her choice while downplaying its degree of transgression.

To be clear, the comet was not a pure political gambit. The relevance of celestial bodies and cosmic anomalies in Tokiko's belief system as well as her genuine amazement before the comet are not a matter of dispute: in *Diary of Ansei 5,* for example, Tokiko often writes of her worshipping the comet, bowing to it, and looking at it in awe.[59] At the same time, the comet's absence from the petition, its sudden appearance in Tokiko's exchanges with her interrogators, its now-eloquent whiteness, and its newfangled centrality in Tokiko's narrative do call for a clarification. The notion of a retroactive defense against heavy accusations based on gendered fears provides just such an explanation.

Tokiko's 1858 diaries offer undisputable evidence that the comet was assigned a pivotal role in Tokiko's political awakening only ex post facto. While they do record the arrival of the star and mention the correlation between colors and outcomes, there are no traces of what we may call an aha moment. A closer look at these diaries in fact reveals not one single turning

point but, as explained in chapter 3, a gradual series of inspirations and endorsements. When it appeared, the portent did not prompt Tokiko to make any life-changing plans; the entry for the day after the first sighting does not even mention the comet, though it remained visible for several weeks thereafter. In the course of those weeks Tokiko bowed toward it numerous times, but always as part of her daily routine, as one activity among many. In 1858, the comet was a noteworthy aside, but not much else. In 1859, however, the circumstances of the Kyoto incarceration had reconfigured Tokiko's world, causing the comet to shine at the center of her story long after it had stopped shining in the sky over Suzugoya.

The rise of the comet also illuminates the seamless way in which Tokiko transitioned between her identity as a prognosticator and her political persona—never privileging one over the other, always letting the divine mingle with the mundane. In 1859, the experienced oracle who knew how to read celestial phenomena came to the rescue of the freshly minted political activist facing a predicament. The former rewrote the script of the latter, putting the cosmos front and center and offering a possible way out of trouble. It is to Tokiko's cosmos—and to the chaos it was meant to rectify—that we now turn. As the following chapters will show, Tokiko appealed to the heavens not only to find strength at times of personal crisis, but also to rectify the world writ large and to claim a place of honor in the loyalist movement.

6 ✳ The Chaos and Cosmos of Kurosawa Tokiko

Starting with the Ansei Treaties and the purges, Tokiko's world had plunged into chaos. Her arrest, the relentless accusations, and the threats of torture only exacerbated her impression that madness pervaded society. Tokiko speaks of her day and age as one of turmoil (literally, "tremors") and of subverted order: "they turned everything upside down,"[1] she writes in reference to the events that triggered her ordeal. However, in the midst of such turmoil Tokiko still saw the universe as beautiful, harmonious, and worthy of admiration. More than that, she saw it as the place out of which the rectification of the world's chaos would begin.

The comet had captured her attention as an anomaly, but regular celestial occurrences mesmerized her just as much for their inherent beauty. The moon in particular awed her. In a world where no light pierced through the darkness of the night and where time was measured in lunar cycles, paying close attention to the moon was inevitable. Moon phases marked the rhythms of countless activities, from agriculture to the meetings of religious confraternities. For example, the members of a confraternity called Stupa of the Twenty-third Night (Nijūsanʻyotō) convened on the twenty-third day of the month and waited for the moon to rise while performing religious services, eating, and drinking; likewise, the Stupa of the Nineteenth Night (Jūkyūyotō), a women's religious group with a chapter in Suzugoya and nearby Magone, met on the night of the nineteenth and revered the moon.[2] In the opening page of her *Diary of Ansei 5,* Tokiko sketched a crescent (figure 6.1) and wrote, "At sunset I bowed to the crescent. It looked like this." On 7/16 she observed a lunar eclipse: "The sky was brighter than usual. I went out and worshipped." One month later, she "worshipped the moon amidst the clouds."[3]

Not only was the universe splendid, it was also an orderly entity regulated by the harmonic interplay of two opposite and complementary forces. Such forces came together as hexagrams in which six solid and broken lines combined in sixty-four possible configurations that explained everything under the

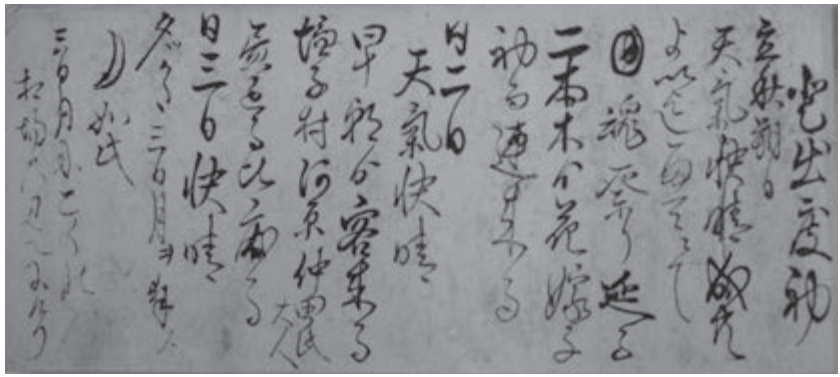


Figure 6.1. Sketch of a crescent in Tokiko's *Diary of Ansei 5. Photo by Gotō Norio. Courtesy of Ibaraki Kenritsu Rekishikan.*

sun. The universe was also a kaleidoscope of signs that manifested themselves to Tokiko in a variety of tones and hues. Comets came in five colors and so did dragons, as suggested in one of the basic divination manuals of the *yamabushi, The Bamboo Basket Tradition* (*Hokiden*):

> If the first day of the first month corresponds to the seventh or eighth sign [of the Chinese calendar] you must know whether it is a White Dragon year. [In that case,] in the third and fourth months there will be a drought. In the fifth, eighth, and ninth months, there will be water and wind [events]. This is bad for green [i.e., unripe] rice crops but auspicious for white, black, and yellow ones. In the third and fourth months people will die, exercise caution.
>
> If the first day of the first month corresponds to the ninth or tenth sign [of the Chinese calendar] you must know whether it is a Black Dragon year. [In that case,] in the third and fourth months it will rain; in the sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth months there will be rain and wind [events]. This is very good for black rice crops. It is equally auspicious for paddy fields high and low [i.e., fertile and with poor soil]. The people will be at peace.[4]

With its harmony, beauty, and consistent sets of correspondences, Tokiko's universe was, as she called it, an "orderly cosmos" (*shōten,* "regular" or "straightforward" heavens)—the exact opposite of the chaos pervading her world.[5]

Tokiko's cosmos was not only a place of beauty and order but also one of safety. To use an analogy with which, as a consummate traveler, she would have been familiar, her cosmos was akin to a major highway, one along which wayfarers could proceed with confidence guided by mile markers and comforted by the thought that there would be plenty of facilities catering to their needs. It was not a place where one would become disoriented or lost. By contrast, her world resembled some of the treacherous, forlorn, meandering roads she had traveled on the way to Kyoto and had tellingly compared, in one case, to hell.[6] An illustration included in a 1938 article on Tokiko from the women's magazine *The Housewife's Companion* (*Shufu no tomo*) encapsulates just such an analogy (figure 6.2). Trekking alone in a dark forest, traveler's hat and cane in hand, hair slightly disheveled, Tokiko advances through thick grasses cautiously looking behind. The image was part of a series on patriotic heroines aimed at inspiring Japanese women at a time of great domestic and international crisis—the original intention, thus, was not to portray Tokiko as confused and indecisive but, rather, to hail her as a model of patriotic zeal and

Figure 6.2. Tokiko's dark and chaotic world as captured in the pages of *The Housewife's Companion* (*Shufu no tomo*) in 1938. Yoshikawa Eiji, "Aikoku josei emonogatari," *Shufu no tomo* 22, no. 2 (February 1938): 52–53. *Courtesy of* Shufu no tomo.

dedication to the household (see chapter 9). And yet, inadvertently, the illustrator ended up capturing the essence of the world as Tokiko saw it in the late 1850s: a dark and chaotic place laden with obstacles and lurking with dangers, a world where she had to wade through thick grasses, second-guess her whereabouts, and look constantly behind her back.

ONE WOMAN SAVES THE WORLD

Tokiko's writings from the 1850s and 1860s tend to give prominence to the chaos-cosmos dichotomy; only rarely do they describe the spaces in between, possibly because her world, at that time, was one of polarizing opposites. However, as the descendant of a Shugendō family, Tokiko would have known that between chaos and cosmos there existed transitional areas where one world gradually gave way to the other.[7] Great marvels, but also great dangers, lurked therein; populated by spirits and monsters, these were sites into which only the adept should venture, and with the utmost caution at that.

One example of such awareness is found in *Brief Chronicles of the Ming and Qing* (*Shinmei ryakki,* 1855), one of the most unusual sources preserved in the Kurosawa family collection. *Brief Chronicles* is unusual because it does not fit in with any of the two literary platforms in which Tokiko specialized—poetry and diary writing; it is, as the title suggests, a compendium of anecdotes from Chinese history that Tokiko collated from existing works.[8] Tucked amidst tales of famines and wars, of sage rulers and rebellious subjects, is the story of a woman, Lady Li Boyu—well versed in the letters and understanding of righteousness—who entered Nine Hermit Mountain, a site "full of good omens" in which one could hope to "acquire the strength of the gods." After an appropriate purification routine,

> she climbed into the inner recesses of the mountain, where she encountered a great many monsters. Despite being a woman and being on her own, she was braver than a man and so she pressed on, all the way in. Suddenly the sky became clouded and a demon-like stranger with gray hair appeared. He said: "I have been waiting for you. Come here." He took her hand and led her inside a cave.

The stranger, the story continues, bestowed Lady Li with "mysterious powers" so potent that, he assured her, they would never wear off, "not even when you are touched by the fresh blood of battle or by all manners of base things." With such powers, he added, Lady Li was to go back and "save the world" (*yo no*

tasuke to naru beshi). Only at the end did the stranger reveal his identity: he was none other than legendary Ming loyalist Coxinga (Zheng Chenggong, 1624–1662), by then more than two hundred years old.[9]

Now a trained sorceress, Lady Li acquired the power to "climb upon the clouds, start fires, and have mist descend [upon the world] at her will." Later in the story we find her uttering spells, making magical gestures with her fingers, and producing amulets to heal the sick. Eventually Lady Li aids Zhu Yuanye (Zhu Hua), leader of the Taiping Rebellion, in his attempt to overthrow the Qing and restore the Ming. By deploying her magic powers, she wins a strategic naval battle against the British and helps Yuanye capture Nanjing, where he rises to power and changes the name of the reign to Tiande.[10]

Unlike Coxinga, Lady Li was not an actual historical character but a fictional one made up by Japanese novelists. She appears in such works as *Military Tales of the Qing versus Ming* (*Shin Min gundan,* 1854) and *Chronicles of the Battles with the Tartars* (*Dattan shōhai ki,* n.d.), all of which circulated in Japan in the 1850s.[11] These are precisely the works Tokiko mentions at the end of *Brief Chronicles,* where she explains the genesis of her work: she had borrowed *Military Tales* and *Chronicles of the Battles* from an acquaintance and had copied the anecdotes she did not want to forget.[12]

Tokiko's interest in the legendary Lady Li illuminates key aspects of her cosmology and her view of the place of the individual in the historical process. First, it shows how Tokiko envisioned a synergy between the human and the spiritual. The world of the spirits and the world of humans converged on Nine Hermit Mountain, where Coxinga transformed Lady Li into an instrument of "heaven's will" (*tenmei*). It should come as no surprise that some of the powers Lady Li acquires by training call to mind the ones described in Shugendō manuals, in which we find instructions on how to overcome physical pain, fly, or become invisible.[13]

Second, and more important, the story of Lady Li demonstrates how Tokiko had confidence in the ability of specially trained individuals (women, even!) to change the course of history. The world Lady Li was to save was one in which foreign invaders, the Manchu Qing, had overthrown the legitimate rulers, the Ming. Not yet a full-fledged activist and restorationist—the Ansei crisis was three years into the future—in 1855 Tokiko would have at least appreciated the possible analogies with the state of her country post-Perry. Like Shugendō manuals, the story of Lady Li taught Tokiko that the universe was a galaxy of potent forces that may look menacing to the untrained eye, but to those sufficiently acquainted with "the secrets of nature" (as Coxinga calls them) these forces would in fact bring strength and victory against foreign invaders and illegitimate rulers.

THE GHOST OF MICHIZANE

Strength was precisely what Tokiko needed at the time of her incarceration, when her act of loyalty to the realm was being interpreted as treason and her life was threatened. On a larger scale, society was collapsing, court and shogunate were at odds, Tokugawa Nariaki sat in home confinement, and little was being done to end the foreign threat. It was not only to counter the accusations leveled against her but also to rectify such widespread chaos that Tokiko summoned the forces of the cosmos.

Calling on cosmic forces (like the comet) to justify her actions may have made perfect sense to Tokiko, but the Kyoto officials were not convinced. After several days of questioning by them, she admitted, "No matter how much I tell them, their doubts would not dissipate."[14] She was going to be convicted. In the Tokugawa legal system conviction required a confession,[15] so toward the end of the fourth month Tokiko was asked to produce a written one. Her hands untied, she was placed before a desk and asked, yet again, to tell her story. The resulting document read, in part:

> Respectfully I hereby state that, regarding the punishment recently [inflicted upon] the Middle Councilor [Nariaki], he was framed without having committed any actual crime. I [resolved to] report it to the court, so that an imperial decree would liberate [him] and he would once again begin to guard the realm so that not another foreigner would enter our country. I knew that it [i.e., Nariaki's liberation] was necessary to pacify the realm and it would also please the emperor. So I, a woman, respectfully put together a clumsy poem and left [my home]. Have mercy on the pure heart of this foolish woman, who acted for her lord [*kimi no ontame*], for the realm, and in order to give back to her domain for its benevolence. I will reckon on your immense compassion.[16]

In this "confession" Tokiko addresses some of the concerns of the officials—for example by mentioning her gender (hence implying she had acted inappropriately) and by reassuring them that the petition was nothing but a "clumsy poem" and not an instrument of treason. However, she fell short of giving the officials what they wanted: she reiterated Nariaki's innocence and, more importantly, failed to acknowledge the existence of accomplices.

Also worthy of notice is the fact that in the final part of the confession Tokiko drops the official title of Middle Councilor and refers to her lord as *kimi*. As Luke Roberts has argued, the use of *kimi* to address one's domain lord

pertained to the language of inner circles. Its opposite, the façade language of officialdom, would have used such terms as *daimyō,* retainer (*shin*), or territorial master (*ryōshu*), all of which also meant "domain lord" but implied said lord's subordinate position as a subject of the Tokugawa government.[17] Tokiko addresses Nariaki as *kimi* in all of her poems, but that is to be expected: none of the alternatives met the requirements of poetic language. For her to do so in her formal confession (as well as elsewhere in her dialogues with the interrogators), however, was a different story;[18] it indicated—subtly but unmistakably—that she rejected the concept of Tokugawa authority, positioned herself as a subject of the Mito lord, and affirmed her determination to be a member of his inner circle. This, along with her refusal to provide the names of putative accomplices, meant that the interrogations would continue.

After almost one month in captivity Tokiko was ill, dejected, and frustrated. The officials still did not believe her, "although I spoke frankly and with a sincere heart." The comet had not made the impression she had expected. The fourth month ended and the fifth began with Tokiko still "living in dark confinement."[19] The time had come to summon cosmic forces of a more potent nature.

"At dawn, on the second day of the fifth month, *a divine message came from the Tenmangū.*" The emphases appear in the original manuscript to underscore the magnitude of the event that was unfolding: the ghost of Sugawara no Michizane had just materialized.

> In a dream, the pillar god of [Kitano] Tenmangū helped me stand up and handed me a short text. Grateful, I received it in my hands. Wondering whether it was a dream or reality I looked up, and [realized] it was exactly a revelation that came to me in a vision [*tadashiki reimu no otsuge nari*].[20]

Sugawara no Michizane, ninth-century courtier and minister, had risen to high office engendering great resentment. Falsely accused of plotting to usurp the throne in 901, he was exiled to Kyushu, where he died two years later. Not long after his death, however, his vengeful spirit returned to the capital as the fearsome God of Thunder to strike his former enemies with terror. To appease Michizane's angry ghost, the court granted him a series of posthumous honors and ranks; in 947 his spirit was given a home at Kitano Shrine as a "heavenly god," or *tenjin*.[21] He was (and still is) also glorified as the God of Poetry and Scholarship.

As a poet, Tokiko would have reserved a special place for the God of Poetry and Scholarship in her pantheon. As a loyalist, she would have felt especially close to Michizane as a paragon of devotion. It was within the precincts of

Kitano Shrine that she had begun her attempt to enter the imperial court—a starting point whose symbolism could not have escaped her. Moreover, while imprisoned in Kyoto, she had composed a series of poems whose first syllables spelled out "Kitano Tenman Daijizai Tenjingū" (Kitano Shrine of the Heavenly Deity Tenman Mahesvara).[22] For the most part these poems celebrate her devotion to the loyalist cause; some tell the story of her journey to Kyoto and of her arrival at Kitano Shrine; others glorify the land of the gods as well as the imperial reign and incite the "people of Yamato" to fight for their country. One pays direct homage to the undying legend of Michizane (see appendix).

The summoning of Michizane's ghost at this particular stage of her incarceration, however, was more than a tribute to a model of loyalty and poetic skills: it was Tokiko's renewed attempt to take charge of the situation. His appearance helped her in at least four ways. First, it confirmed her innocence and righteousness. Since the medieval period Michizane had come to be seen as a protector of the falsely accused.[23] His intervention, thus, conferred just such a label on Tokiko.

Second, by visiting her in her cell, Michizane endorsed Tokiko as a tried and true participant in the loyalist movement. With fourteenth-century loyalist Kusunoki Masashige (1294–1336), Michizane represents one of the ultimate paradigms of steadfast devotion to the emperor. Both were in fact default models for late-Tokugawa loyalists—the Kurume priest Maki Izumi (1813–1864), for example, copied thirteen volumes of Michizane's writings and became known among the Kyoto restorationists as "the Lord Kusunoki of our times."[24] By summoning Michizane across the divide of time and space, Tokiko—whom the Mito scholars, spiteful of the gullible, spirit-fearing masses, would have derided as a peasant and magico-religious specialist—claimed a legitimate place within the loyalist movement of the late Tokugawa.

Third, having legitimately joined the loyalist movement, Tokiko, who before the Kyoto interrogators had cast herself as a base-born nobody, a foolish woman, and a speck of dust in the wind, secured a place of honor in the movement by suggesting she may be a modern-day version of Michizane himself. The parallels could not be missed. Both came from a line of educators. (Like Tokiko, Michizane had expressed frustration at dealing with misbehaving students who spilled ink and carved on their desks.)[25] Both communicated with the court—Michizane on a more regular basis, to be fair—by way of poetry. Both regarded the imperial house with feelings of selflessness and admiration; both had professed devotion to the emperor; both had faced false accusations. Tokiko may even have known that Michizane's fall from grace at court had begun with an act of prognostication portending a military insurrection and the fall of the ruler by the hand of a retainer. Other versions of the story

even speak of a celestial anomaly—a solar eclipse that, according to Michizane's enemies, announced that great political turmoil would ensue because of his political ambitions.[26] The poems Michizane had composed at the time of his exile often reflected Tokiko's circumstances so perfectly that, were it not for the differences in format and language, they may as well have been penned by her. In dealing with her interrogators, for example, Tokiko may have recalled these lines by Michizane:

> How could I escape from this disaster?
> I hoped eventually to clear my name of slander.
> Never yet had evil triumphed over good,
> Although truth was sometimes confused with falsehood.[27]

In short, by calling on his ghost, Tokiko drew strength not only by underscoring her legitimate place within the loyalist movement but also by stepping inside its inner circles.

Fourth, the association with Michizane provided not only a source of strength for the present but also one of hope for the future. His example taught that sufferings and humiliations were only temporary and that, at the end of the road, great honors awaited. Like Michizane, Tokiko (and, by extension, the entire loyalist movement) could expect resurrection from infamy and ultimate triumph. The summoning of the ghost brought with it a forecast for victory precisely at a time when everything seemed to be lost. By the same token, Michizane's intervention would have served as a powerful cautionary tale for Tokiko's enemies. His ghost was no stranger to making personal appearances, but virtually each time he materialized he did so as the terrorizing God of Thunder. For him to come to Tokiko as a benign entity meant that he sided with her; it also meant that Tokiko's enemies were his enemies, and for this reason alone they should be stricken with terror.

This last point has less to do with an actual threat Tokiko made against the officials—to whom she said nothing of the encounter with the ghost—and more with her quest for strength and answers in the world of spirits, ghosts, or heavenly signs. Michizane's experience offered a historical model of recovery from ignominy and of revenge; his endorsement of Tokiko's cause presaged the defeat of the emperor's enemies. The summoning of Michizane's ghost was Tokiko's ultimate effort to gain the strength she needed in her tug-of-war with the shogunal officials. Where the comet had failed to give her the upper hand, the God of Thunder would surely succeed.

Inspired by Michizane, Tokiko wrote "a memo just like the one from the prophetic dream" (*reimu no gotoki okakimono*), and, when summoned the next

morning, she presented it to the authorities. What did the memo say? Unfortunately her diary is silent on this point. All we know is that the officials were pleased. At long last, Tokiko heard not sharp words but "words of compassion" (*nasake no kotoba*): "Do not worry about [being sentenced to] death. Do not." And with this, she was sent back to her cell, but not before she announced that she no longer feared for herself: "Whatever happens next, I will not mind."[28]

The cosmos had descended to offset the madness of the chaos; in the form of the ghost of Michizane, it had spoken to her face to face, giving her the strength and confidence she needed to confront her ordeal and make her way through it. As Coxinga had done for Lady Li, so a ghost from the distant past had materialized to rescue a brave woman destined to change the course of history. Or had it?

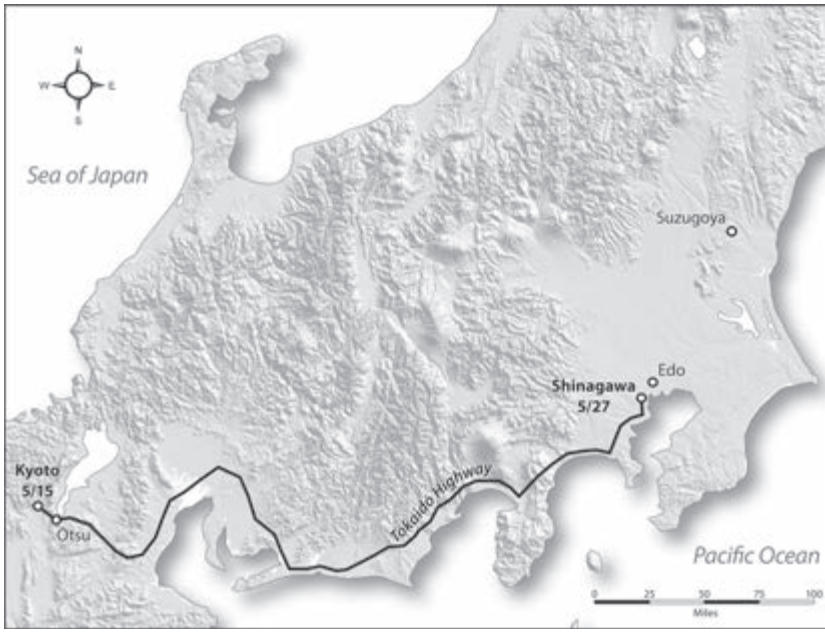
TO EDO

Tokiko's victory was short-lived. Two weeks after her rendezvous with Michizane, the Hyōjōsho (High Court, the joint office of the Temple and Shrine Magistrate, the Finance Magistrate, and the City Magistrate) in Edo took up her case—signaling that it was a problematic one.[29] An official record dated 1859/5/15 reveals how much the authorities already knew:

> A while back Toki, the wife of the farmer Kurosawa Shinsuke from Suzugoya village, Higashi Ibaraki district, Hitachi Province, arrived in Kyoto. This [occurred] on the twenty-fifth day of the third month. By way of the former Imperial Counselor Higashibōjō Tokinaga she set out to exculpate her former domain lord, Tokugawa Nariaki. She was arrested in Osaka on the first day of the fourth month. On this day [5/15] the shogunate, through the office of the Kyoto City Magistrate, has Toki sent to Edo in a cage.[30]

Tokiko was placed in a portable cage and began a thirteen-day journey along the Tōkaidō (map 6.1). A placard identified her not as a loyalist but as "Kurosawa Rikkyō or Toki . . . instructor of haikai, poetry, writing."[31]

As the placard announced, the Tokiko we find traveling to Edo in the cage is less a political activist and more a poet; the journey became an occasion for her to wax poetic by composing verses inspired by the various stages of the highway. They are included in her *Letters from the Kyoto Incarceration* as well as in a separate collection aptly titled *Poems from the Fifty-Three Stages of the Tōkaidō* (*Tōkaidō gojūsantsugi no uta*).



Map 6.1. Tokiko's return trip as a prisoner. *Map by Will Fontanez.*

It is surprising that a political prisoner traveling in a cage would have access to writing implements. Gauging the extent to which Tokiko was in fact able to write while in the cage is complicated by the lack of original documents from 1859. The cover page of *Poems from the Fifty-Three Stages of the Tōkaidō* preserved at the Rekishikan reads, "Composed by Kurosawa Tokiko inside a cage on the Year of the Sheep Ansei 6 [1859]," but the last page is dated 1895, five years after Tokiko's death. This is, therefore, a later copy by someone else's hand. In *Letters from the Kyoto Incarceration* the verses are by Tokiko's own hand, but this document is the 1875 copy of the original. This makes it impossible to determine how complete and clean the original version of her Tōkaidō poems might have been.

Also remarkable is the fact that a caged prisoner would engage in an activity reserved to itinerant poets and cultured travelers. This is easier to explain, for Tokiko never compartmentalized her identities: as an oracle, she had supported her activist alter ego by interpreting the words of Michizane in the Kyoto cell; now, as a poet, she provided her prisoner persona with a welcome distraction during her ordeal. There are also indications that, along the Tōkaidō, Tokiko used poetry to bond with her captors. In *Letters from the Kyoto Incarcera-*

tion she describes several interactions during which verses were exchanged and she and her captors discussed "the Way of Poetry."[32]

Precisely because they were shared with the shogunal officials, the Tōkaidō verses Tokiko composed from her cage deal with safe topics. Some lament the hardships of travel (physical discomforts, the wayfarer's longing for home), others capture its joys (enjoying a gentle breeze during a rest stop) or take the obligatory snapshots of famous sites and souvenirs—rice cakes in Nissaka, grilled clams in Kuwana, or a famous monument in Ōiso. There are occasional gleams of loyalist pride, but even these are presented with restraint and steer clear of the vitriol of which Tokiko was capable. In Kakegawa, for instance, she wrote:

Kimigayo no	I made a vow for the sake of
tame to chikai o	my lord's reign
Kakegawa no	to purify myself
kiyoki nagare ni	in the pure stream
misogi o yasen	at Kakegawa.[33]

The Kurami River, which ran through the Tōkaidō post town of Kakegawa, may have offered Tokiko the excuse to allude to another act of purification by ablution—the one in the waters of the Semi River in Kyoto of which she had written in her long poem/petition. These verses were, perhaps, a way to reminisce indirectly and safely.

When she indulged in loyalist thoughts, Tokiko compensated by producing alternative verses devoid of any political nuance. In Kakegawa, for instance, she composed a second poem on the local entertainers. At Kanaya, site of the dreaded Ōi River crossing, Tokiko wrote three poems: one reiterates her devotion to Tokugawa Nariaki ("At Kanaya / even inside the cage / I pray day and night / for the oath I made / to my lord"[34]), while the other two describe the harrowing experience of crossing the river's wave-breaking waters. Tokiko may have purposely tried to soften the impact of her tribute to Nariaki by presenting it not as a sudden outburst of Mito pride but, prudently, as a sort of final pledge of allegiance in the face of great danger and, possibly, death.

Tokiko arrived in Shinagawa on 5/27, not knowing that only one day earlier British Consul General Sir Rutherford Alcock had landed there to establish his legation. On 5/28, the day the Tokugawa government declared the opening of free trade with Russia, France, Great Britain, the Netherlands, and the United States at the ports of Kanagawa, Nagasaki, and Hakodate, Tokiko appeared before City Magistrate and High Court member Ishigaya Inaba no Kami Atsukiyo at the North Office of the City Magistrate. While big history

was moving forward, the extra who had tried to change its course was being kept on the sidelines.

For the first two months Tokiko remained confined "amidst swarms of mosquitoes" in a solitary cell in Asakusa. On 6/3 she appeared before the Edo High Court. While her interrogations in Osaka and Kyoto had been relatively small-scale affairs, the one in Edo became fodder for gossip: Kanda bookseller Fujiokaya Yoshizō, the great nineteenth-century chronicler of Edo life and politics, took due notice. It is not because of Tokiko, however, that Edo was abuzz with news of the trial: that day, appearing before the High Court, was the Who's Who of the loyalist movement, including Muraoka no Tsubone and Mito retainer Ajima Tatewaki.[35] Some of the government officials in charge of the case were also celebrities in their own right:[36] Finance Magistrate Ikeda Harima no Kami Yorikata (1801–1876), for example, was the same man who, one year earlier, had sentenced Tokugawa Nariaki to house arrest.

The Edo functionaries had received a copious file on Tokiko and already knew the basics of the case. Their line of questioning was similar to that of their Kyoto colleagues and for this reason does not need revisiting. On 6/3 the council handed out the following sentences, as reported in Fujiokaya's diary:

> Retainer of the lord of Mito, Ajima Tatewaki.
> Following the investigation, he is to be returned to the custody of a retainer of Kuki Nagato no Kami [Takayoshi].
>
> Muraoka [no Tsubone], senior lady-in-waiting of the lord Konoe.
> Same verdict, to be returned to the custody of a retainer of Matsudaira [Toda] Tanba no Kami [Mitsuhisa].
>
> Hitachi, Ibaraki district, Suzugoya village.
> Kurosawa Rikkyō, or Toki, age fifty-four.
> Instructor of letters and writing.
> Following the investigation, she is to be returned to the custody of the Asakusa jail.[37]

Back at Asakusa jail and its swarms of mosquitoes, between 6/22 and 7/10 Tokiko was struck by such a severe illness (*taibyō*) that all proceedings had to be halted. What could have been an especially miserable interval in her already harrowing ordeal, however, became a platform for Tokiko to reassert her pivotal role in the rectification of the world's chaos. In this respect, Tokiko's use of illness is also an ideal lens to examine the way in which her experience as a

healer and as a spiritualist related to the new religions of the late-Tokugawa and early-Meiji eras.

ILLNESS AND MALAISE: TOKIKO AND THE NEW RELIGIONS

The term "new religions" indicates belief systems that developed outside the mainstream and differed from the established religions in a number of ways: for example, new religions did not draw a neat line of demarcation between leaders and devotees; paid scant attention to differences of class and gender; and used healing rather than textual erudition to attract followers. Founded by persons claiming divinity or divine revelation and offering a way out of chaos, new religions emerged at various critical times between the nineteenth century and the postwar period; Helen Hardacre has identified the first sixty years of the nineteenth century, the 1920s, and the postwar era as especially relevant moments in this respect.[38]

On the surface, there appear to be remarkable similarities between Tokiko's background and the life trajectories of some of the best-known founders of new religions. For one, many founders boasted Shugendō credentials, like Tokiko did.[39] Not a few among them were women. One can also notice resemblances between Tokiko's cosmology and the views of the universe as articulated by some of these founders, many of whom laced their parables with visions and treated celestial anomalies as messages from the heavens. Nakayama Miki (1798–1887) of Tenrikyō, for example, contended that thunder, earthquakes, great winds, and floods were manifestations of the anger of the god Tsukihi.[40] Like Tokiko, the founders of new religions reacted to what they saw as a severe crisis in contemporary society; for some of them (Deguchi Nao of Ōmotokyō, for example) discomfort with current worldly affairs included anti-foreign sentiments.[41] In a few cases, their criticism of the establishment led to imprisonment. Lastly, as with Tokiko, their low status and gender were remarked upon: the priest at Oyamato Shrine, for example, manifested his contempt for Nakayama Miki by calling her an old woman and a peasant.[42]

For as many dots as we can connect, however, there are many more we cannot. Despite Tokiko's interest in divination, her Shugendō background, and her appeals to cosmic lore, her engagements with the divine in the 1850s and 1860s hardly resembled those of Nakayama Miki or of Deguchi Nao. The differences begin with their respective approaches and methodologies. Although spirit possession was not alien to Shugendō,[43] Tokiko never mentions falling into ecstatic trances or being possessed by deities, something the prophets of new religions routinely experienced; let us not forget that the ghost of Sugawara no Michizane spoke *to* her, not *through* her and, for that matter, he visited her in her

dreams only once. Unlike most founders of new religions, Tokiko never professed personal divinity. She never performed miracles, and there are no records of her stunning those around her with inexplicable feats in the way of Deguchi Nao, who penned hundreds of thousands of divinely inspired pages despite being virtually illiterate, or of Kurozumi Munetada (1780–1850), who allegedly healed the lepers.[44]

The scope, modes, and purpose of Tokiko's engagement with the cosmic and the divine in the 1850s and 1860s also provide a point of contrast with the new religions. Unlike the late-Tokugawa prophets, Tokiko did not intend to found a new movement. Her articulation of the relation between the heavens and the world of humans is not systematic but hinged upon ad hoc interventions and interactions recorded not in sermons or sacred texts but in personal memoirs—sometimes explicitly, other times between the lines. At least in the period covered by her diaries, Tokiko shows no demonstrable interest in creating a long-term following and in rising as its charismatic leader. This attitude, in turn, affected the way in which she deciphered the signs from the heavens: it is clear from her writings that Tokiko often treated omens and visions as a mathematician treats a problem—analytically, not emotionally.

I shall return to the issue of leadership in chapter 8, for, three years before her death, Tokiko asked for, and obtained, permission to become the Suzugoya representative of Ontakekyō, one of thirteen sectarian Shinto sects officially recognized by the Meiji government. Included in the same group were such new religions as Nakayama Miki's Tenrikyō, Deguchi Nao's Ōmotokyō, as well as Konkōkyō and Kurozumikyō. Tokiko's Meiji-era association with Ontakekyō does not change the fact that, at the time of the Ansei Purges and of the journey to Kyoto, Tokiko's cosmology retained important differences with the modus operandi of the new religions. We cannot, in other words, read her actions in the 1850s retroactively through the lens of decisions she would make thirty years later. If anything, her 1887 involvement with Ontakekyō reminds the historian that one person's views are never frozen in time, as much as one may want them to be for the sake of narrative coherence.

The issues Tokiko wished to address when she summoned the cosmos in the 1850s and 1860s, moreover, were different in size and scope from the ones with which the new religions concerned themselves. New religions oscillate between the narrow focus and the wide angle. On the one hand, they promise worldly benefits such as wealth, health, or domestic bliss for their followers in this life—as do mainstream religions.[45] On the other, new religions deploy a long-term view of utopian, universal goals: Nakayama Miki, for instance, wished to save "all humankind," while Deguchi Nao was inspired by the desire to

eliminate politics.[46] Even the otherwise grounded Kurozumikyō ends its Great Purification Prayer with a somewhat grandiose aspiration: "Beginning from today / Each and every sin will be gone."[47] By contrast, Tokiko's message eschewed both the narrow personal focus and the long-range millenarian qualities of the new religions. Her view was mid-range: she neither concentrated on the single individual nor on grand salvation plans for all mankind, but turned her attention to one self-contained issue affecting her day and age, the injustice of the treaties and of the purges. Whereas the problems of society pained Nakayama and Deguchi as much as they did Tokiko, the magnitude of their afflictions thus differed greatly. Nakayama Miki's and Deguchi Nao's sufferings were so profound, their burdens so heavy, that, in metaphorical terms, the two women wore crowns of thorns. Troubling Tokiko, by contrast, was just one thorn in her side (namely Ii's policies)—painful, but hardly a reason to take on the cause of universal salvation. It is to Tokiko's localized thorn and to the discomfort it generated that we now turn, further to underscore the difference between her experience and that of late-Tokugawa and early-Meiji prophets.

One of the recurring motifs in the hagiographies of the founders of new religions is personal suffering. A virtual prerequisite to claim and maintain the title of founder, suffering could take the form of extreme physical pain, illness, or of miserable conditions to overcome.[48] Not only a test of endurance, acute pain was also the manifestation of a divine presence, which could be either benign or (more often) merciless and destructive. As Nakayama Miki's *The Tip of the Writing Brush* (*Ofudesaki*) explains, "Illness and pain of whatever kind do not exist. / They are none other than the hastening and guidance of God."[49] Even outside the new religions, wandering spirits, malevolent spirits, and the spirits of the dead, including the angry spirits of unborn babies, were believed to cause sickness.[50] In relating illness to a supernatural element, the new religions thus tapped into preexisting lore; at the same time, they took a common theme and transformed it into a central and recurring element, a virtual sine qua non. Tokiko begged to differ.

During her captivity, Tokiko endured three major bouts of illness: one shortly after her arrest in Osaka; one along the Tōkaidō; and one while incarcerated in Edo. At no point did Tokiko present her suffering as a manifestation of divine anger or as an indication that the gods were attempting to speak through her. When the gods are mentioned in the chronicle of her physical suffering, it is simply in the context of an occasional prayer for the restoration of health.

Pain, to be sure, became an allegory, but one anchored in the "here and now" and serving practical goals. On a small scale, suffering enabled Tokiko

to take the pulse of her own situation as a political prisoner. Additionally, since Tokiko saw herself as the pivot between the world of base-born nobodies and history writ large, by projecting her personal suffering onto a broader plane, she also found a way to speculate on the current crisis, reiterate Ii's responsibility, and envision possible solutions.

The pain she suffered in Osaka was so severe that a doctor was summoned. "The affliction you harbor inside is great indeed" (*fukuchū no jaki hanahadashi*), he told her. To which Tokiko replied: "If this is the case, if the bug I feel in my heart [*kyōchū no mushi*] does not abate, it will be hard to heal the bug that the realm is feeling in its heart" (*tenka kyōchū no mushi o osameru koto narigatashi*). Tokiko's "bug" affected the abdomen (*fukuchū,* literally, "inside the belly") as well as the heart (*kyōchū,* literally, "inside the chest") because it was illness as much as it was malaise. As a physical condition, what plagued her body was a reflection of the disorder that had struck down the body politic. As a psychological one, it was a symptom of her mounting anxiety over the tribulations of the Ansei era.

Tokiko's illness did not come from the same place as the ailments that afflicted the founders of new religions, nor did it come in the same form. Whereas new religions depicted illness as a conduit through which a deity spoke, Tokiko's bug originates not in the sphere of the divine (which she identified with order and harmony, not with anger and imbalance) but in the topsy-turvy world of human affairs. Sickness, as Tokiko put it, was one of "the yokes of life" (*inochi no kizuna*).[51]

As a channel through which a deity speaks, disease in new religions tends to strike unexpectedly and ferociously; the divine blitzkriegs that targeted Nakayama Miki, for example, were as random as they were violent. Tokiko's bouts of sickness, on the other hand, were the exact opposite, recurring and predictable; her bug was not an ambush of the gods but, simply, a chronic condition (*jibyō*).[52] More importantly, the bug was treatable, and because Tokiko presents her body as a small-scale projection of the body politic, healing her body meant curing the sickness as well as the malaise that afflicted her country. In constructing a direct correspondence between what she felt inside her heart/chest (*kyōchū*) and what the country felt in its chest (*tenka no kyōchū*), Tokiko used illness to reaffirm a pivotal role in the process that would restore order (health) to the realm.

We can read the process whereby Tokiko links her body to the larger social order through a model theorized by Helen Hardacre. (As always, exceptions exist, but the model fits several late-Tokugawa and early-Meiji religious movements and is germane to this analysis.) According to Hardacre, the worldview of almost all new religions resembles four concentric circles. At the

center is the self, followed in outward sequence by body, social order, and cosmos. "Everything is interconnected," writes Hardacre, "so that a change in one dimension, no matter how small, eventually ripples out and affects other dimensions in a larger context."[53] Hardacre here envisions a unidirectional process that begins with the self and unfolds from the inside out. The self, in other words, is responsible for everything: in Reiyūkai Kyōdan all misfortunes originate from an undisciplined heart; Kurozumikyō's founder Kurozumi Munetada blamed his bouts of sickness on his being too grief-stricken over the death of his parents.[54]

Tokiko's experience presents an important variation on this model, one that demands our attention not because it was exclusive to her worldview (it was not), but because it speaks volumes about her political stance and the way in which she envisioned her role as a historical actor. Her linking of her ailing body to the ailing body politic follows a fluid course, one that moves in both directions, from the inside out and from the outside in. When she proclaims, "if the bug I feel in my heart does not abate, it will be hard to heal the bug that the realm is feeling in its heart," Tokiko abides by Hardacre's model: the healing of her body signals the beginning of a larger healing process for the realm at large—an outward progression. However, what brought her to suffer in the first place was the result of a chain of events that began with the collapse of harmony in the ring of social (political) order and moved inward, toward the center. By using this two-way model, Tokiko absorbs part of the suffering the country is experiencing and transforms her body into a dynamic and pivotal element in the process whereby the restoration of health and order begins. Cleverly, she takes credit for rescuing the realm but avoids any responsibility for making it sick. The two-way model, in other words, enables Tokiko symbolically to reiterate Ii Naosuke's complete and unreserved culpability.

Alternatively, we can look at Tokiko's physiological approach to political rectification though the concept of "opening up good fortune" (*kaiun*), which is to say controlling luck by way of specific rituals or changes in behavior. It was common practice for late-Tokugawa prognosticators to link body and mind with destiny and to try to direct the latter by controlling the former, for example by monitoring breathing and food intake.[55] The idea of modifying the physiological body to affect the gyrations of one's fate, in other words, was not new; however, Tokiko brought it to a different level. While for most the practice of directing one's fate led to the enhancing of personal fortunes, for Tokiko the healing of the body extended beyond the sphere of the personal to benefit the entire realm.

Lastly, we can think of Tokiko's understanding of the realm as body as a precursor to the emphasis on the national body (*kokutai*) that became a

prominent part of state ideology in the 1880s. There are, of course, important differences—first and foremost the fact that the hygiene-fixated ideologues of the modern era would have cringed at Tokiko's identification of a sickly body with the body of the nation. Still, Tokiko's case shows that a metaphor commonly identified with the rhetoric of the modern state was in fact within the realm of common knowledge, and within the purview of the ordinary person, already in the Tokugawa period.[56]

The correspondence between her body and the body politic also informed Tokiko's use of sickness during her journey along the Tōkaidō. After weeks of harsh interrogations in Kyoto, as she was being transported to Edo in a cage, Tokiko had wondered: "What kind of torments will I encounter?"[57] It was at that point that illness struck. When the officials who escorted her went to great lengths to offer her medicine and words of support, Tokiko was moved to tears. Illness, in this case, enabled her to test the leniency of her captors—with their attentive response partially assuaging her fears. If there was hope for her, by extension there would also be hope for the loyalists.

Illness, in short, prompted Tokiko to reexamine the crisis of her day and age and to think about possible remedies; it impelled her to reflect on her role as a problem solver and on the relation between chaos and cosmos, reinforcing her conviction that this world was sick and that the orderly heavens, if addressed correctly, could offer a cure. She stated this point explicitly several months later when, looking back at her ordeal, she wrote:

> With my old and frail body I endured prison time in Osaka, Kyoto, and Edo, as well as the hardships of traveling in a cage along the fifty-three stages [of the Tōkaidō] and an illness in Asakusa [jail]. I have braced myself for death so many times; I have faced danger upon danger, like stepping onto the tail of a tiger, but all the while I never stopped trusting that the orderly heavens [*shōten*] would assist me.[58]

To the suffering engendered by chaos Tokiko responded with the soothing harmony and ailing properties of her beautiful heavens, and thus overcame adversity.

PHYSICALITY AND FEMALE POLITICAL ACTIVISM IN THE LATE TOKUGAWA

Tokiko's understanding of her personal illness as a somatization of the suffering of the body politic is one of the many ways in which she cast herself as a

pivot between large-scale history and the microcosm of the individual. To this extent, it is worth comparing Tokiko's use of illness with that of another female loyalist of the time, the Fukuoka nun Nomura Bōtō, in order to assess the extent to which women saw their physical bodies as either functional or detrimental to political activism.

After her arrest in 1865, Bōtō (fifty-nine years old at the time) was exiled and imprisoned on the island of Himeshima, off the coast of northern Kyushu, where she too experienced frequent bouts of illness. Despite being caught in circumstances similar to Tokiko's, Bōtō never transfigured her own suffering into an overarching allegorical message: to her, sickness was just sickness. In the second month of 1866, for example, her pelvis hurt so severely that she was barely able to stand. Bōtō did not turn this episode into an occasion for metaphorical ruminations, but simply stated, in a letter, that she alleviated the pain by piling hot baked potatoes onto the affected area.[59]

If sickness was just sickness, by the same token medicines were just medicines, and not symbolic remedies to restore the health of the country. Thus, by the end of the first month of 1866, we find Bōtō commenting on the efficacy of a certain remedy for hemorrhoids, with not so much as a hint of allegorical elaboration.[60] (Using hemorrhoids as a metaphor would have been neither undignified nor comical in Tokugawa Japan; if anything, it would have been anticlimactic, the general view being that hemorrhoids were a temporary inconvenience for which a host of readily available remedies existed.)[61] Bōtō's letters from Himeshima are peppered with descriptions of health problems, requests for medicines, lamentations about the chronically late shipments of medications, and with almost monomaniacal ponderings on the exact number of pills one should take to remedy this or that ailment;[62] at no point do any of these conversations veer toward the metaphorical.

Bōtō did not see sickness as a source of divine empowerment, as evidenced by the fact that she went to great lengths to avoid it ("I just live taking the utmost care not to become ill"). She also did not see much of a link between her personal physical suffering and the suffering of the country; if her bouts of illness in Himeshima were indicators of anything, it was the utter incompetence of the local doctors and, by extension, the miseries of exile: "I requested to be examined by the local doctor . . . but he did not have a clue; it is quite frightening [to think] how incompetent he is. I shall not ask to be visited [again]. . . . I will put my life in heaven's hands."[63]

Only later, after she escaped from the island, did Bōtō speak of medicine (but not of illness) in metaphorical terms. In 1867 she composed a poem in which she linked the well-being of the Satsuma troops going into battle to the well-being of the country:

Ikusabito	There was a time when
mamoru kusuri wa	a medicine to protect
aru toki mo	those who go into battle
naki koso kuni no	did not exist. May there [now] be
kusuri narikere	a medicine for our country.[64]

Elsewhere she added:

Azumaji no	I wonder whether
akuta tsumoreru	the medicine that will cleanse
Naniwae o	Naniwa Bay, where the
arau kusuri mo	rubbish of the East piles up,
kimi zo moruramu	will also protect our lord.[65]

The "medicines" mentioned in these poems are entirely imaginary, not allegorical projections of actual potions or pills. In other words, once again Bōtō was not interested in linking her physical persona (or, to use a modern term, her medical history) to the process whereby the country would be healed. While she may have agreed with Tokiko (whom she never met) that some individual bodies carried the potential to cure the realm, she was also convinced that hers was not such a body. On a number of occasions she described it as frail and unfit,[66] which explains why, unlike Tokiko, she herself did not think of it as a reliable site to take the pulse of the Restoration Movement. (Indeed, Bōtō fell gravely ill and died not long after leaving Himeshima, only a few months short of the collapse of the Tokugawa.)

To conclude, Tokiko's articulation of a clear link between personal body and the body of the realm is a rhetorical strategy that served a number of purposes. At a personal level, it enabled her to rationalize her temporary misery as part and parcel of a greater cause, giving her the strength to endure her ordeal. Second, the correspondence between her body and the realm became a platform for Tokiko to reiterate her pivotal role in the rectification of the world's chaos. Lastly, in broader terms Tokiko's vision of a parallel between an ailing body and the ailing realm offered a general model to achieve triumph over adversity by transforming liabilities into assets. At the time of her incarceration, physicality was not one of Tokiko's strong suits, for she was middle-aged and in poor health (not to mention a woman). However, by envisioning a correlation between bodies small and large, real and metaphorical, Tokiko turned her shortcomings into advantages: hers was not an imprisoned, sick body but a portion of the realm under heaven; it was not a marginal entity but the fulcrum upon which the country would turn.

Tokiko's creative development of such correspondences brings to the fore a new strategy through which women in the late-Tokugawa period could chart paths of political action. Other female loyalists remained painfully aware of the limitations placed upon them by gender (and, in many cases, age): Nomura Bōtō saw herself as physically inadequate to represent the realm writ large; Matsuo Taseko bemoaned having "the weak body of a useless woman" and wrote openly of despising her body; and the nun Ōtagaki Rengetsu (1791–1875) expressed envy toward "people who are males" for being able to take up arms and fight for the country.[67] Tokiko was no stranger to self-deprecation, yet in her darkest moment in prison she found a way to reconfigure the paradigm: hers was the weak body of a *useful* woman.[68] To the notion that women could contribute to rewriting the history of the realm only by adding footnotes Tokiko replied by producing a dense script in which visions and symbols, metaphors and allusions, placed a female (no)body at the center of the historical moment.

7 ✳ Transitions

This chapter deals with the ordinary individual and history writ large by examining transitions large and small, public and private, historical and personal. The story it tells is one of changes and adjustments. The first part, "Clipping Wings," covers the one-year span between the seventh month of 1859, when Tokiko entered Tenmachō prison, and the eighth month of 1860, when the lord Nariaki passed away. Along with Nariaki, in the course of that year the other iconic figure at the center of Tokiko's political awakening, Ii Naosuke, also died, and Tokiko's foray into engaged activism came to a close. Her political zeal, however, was not extinguished, but simply found new outlets to manifest itself. The second part of the chapter, "Hexagrams," offers an example of one such new outlet, following Tokiko as she reconfigured her priorities and reinvented her role as pivot between community and cosmic forces, and between the small and the large scale, in light of the 1864 Mito civil war. With the harmonious balance between chaos and cosmos compromised by the ripple waves of these transitional moments, Tokiko adapted to times that kept on changing—for the worst.

CLIPPING WINGS

Tokiko's final bout with illness was prolonged. It began with a high fever and loss of appetite followed by the appearance of blisters and the swelling of her ears.[1] She was too debilitated to face her interrogators. By the time she was able to talk again, on 7/27, they had decided to transfer her from Asakusa to Tenmachō, Edo's infamous prison.

Enclosed by a moat and a wall, Tenmachō had always had a reputation as a rough place. Living conditions within its walls were so harsh that, aside from the prisoners who were regularly executed, hundreds of inmates died each year under suspicious circumstances.[2] In 1859 the facility was at full capacity as a result of the Ansei Purges; as Thomas Huber notes, the inmate population at the time included some of the topmost loyalists in the realm.[3]

As soon as she arrived, Tokiko would have been searched in a process reminiscent of the procedures implemented at roadside checkpoints. She would have then been sent to her cell. Unlike male prisoners, who were assigned to different cellblocks on the basis of status, women at Tenmachō were few enough to be all confined together in the upper rooms.[4] Tokiko shared one such room with fifteen other women, including at least another one from Mito.[5]

The illness that had stricken Tokiko in Asakusa still plagued her, and for more than two months she was not summoned for interrogation. Then, on 10/11 (November 5, 1859), she was finally called, and, in a remarkable instance of an extra sharing the spotlight with some of the lead historical actors, she underwent a cross-examination with several other loyalists, including none other than Yoshida Shōin.[6]

Five days later the interrogators produced a formal written statement (*kuchigaki*) based on Tokiko's deposition. City Magistrate Ishigaya Atsukiyo read it in her presence. It was a lengthy document, over thirty pages by Tokiko's own estimate; in recording it for posterity, Tokiko confesses that she forgot the final part and could only summarize its main points. The statement recapped her odyssey, beginning with her rage at the unfair punishment meted out to Nariaki, the sighting of the comet, and Shishido Nakatsukasa's visit. It continued with her decision to go to Kyoto, the trip, the visit to Kitano Shrine, and her arrest.[7] Aside from the usual culprits, for the first time the name of another informant appears in the paper trail: a certain Mimura Shōjibei. Though otherwise unmentioned in Tokiko's diaries, the Kurosawa Family Records at Ibaraki University include a receipt Mimura produced in the eighth month of 1858 to acknowledge a loan he had received from Tokiko (see chapter 1). Mimura had shared with Tokiko "the details of [Nariaki's] case" and had informed her that it was Senior Councilor Manabe Akikatsu who had brought Nariaki's connections with the Kyoto court to the attention of the Kyoto police superintendant.[8] (Manabe's 1858 mission to Kyoto had indeed resulted in the arrest of several of Nariaki's sympathizers in the imperial capital.)

What transpires from the formal statement, or at least from Tokiko's recollection thereof, is that, in the eyes of the authorities, Tokiko's case had less to do with celestial omens and all to do with human networking. The officials had reconstructed the web of informants, supporters, and enablers who had inspired and facilitated the journey of a base-born woman to the imperial court: Shishido Nakatsukasa, Mimura Shōjibei, the priest Keien, Saida Koresada. The fact that Tokiko had been brought before the authorities with Yoshida Shōin and other loyalists may also suggest that the officials were trying to ascertain how far and how high her connections stretched. They sought, in short, to map the contours of her circles, better to break them down.

On 1859/10/27 Tokiko and the other loyalists were summoned to receive their sentences. For Yoshida Shōin the verdict was death. Tokiko "heard it loud and clear. At this point, we all looked at each other in the face and resigned ourselves; our hearts were thumping."[9] She was not the only woman facing the authorities that day: loyalist Katsuno Toyosaku's wife, Chika, and his twenty-four-year-old daughter, Yū, also stood among the accused. Unlike Chika and Yū, however, Tokiko was not guilty by association but entirely responsible for her own actions. This may explain why, while Chika and Yū were sentenced to domiciliary confinement, Tokiko received a harsher punishment. Found "guilty of slandering [*ashizama ni mōseshi*] important officials," she was sentenced to medium-range banishment.[10]

After death and exile, banishment (*tsuihō*) was the third strictest form of punishment in the Tokugawa legal codes.[11] *Rules for Determining Legal Matters* (*Kujikata osadamegaki,* also known as *One Hundred Articles* or *Hyakkajō*), the penal code compiled in the mid-eighteenth century, stipulated that banishment could be "heavy" (*omoki*), "medium" (*chū*), or "light" (*karuki*) depending on the severity of the crime. Crimes warranting heavy banishment included bypassing a checkpoint, assaulting women, or unauthorized logging in lands owned by the government, by a domain lord, or by the imperial court.[12] Medium banishment was reserved for criminals who had failed to follow the terms of a previous sentence (for example, by escaping from jail or from exile) or for men guilty of leading a married woman to commit adultery, of selling forgeries, or of wounding, crippling, or killing someone in a quarrel. Finally, crimes falling under the rubric of light banishment included having an affair with a woman promised in marriage to someone else or, in the case of farmers and townsmen, carrying swords, a privilege reserved for the samurai.[13]

A document issued by the Osaka City Magistrate in 1717 clarifies the geographical extent of each type of banishment, enabling us to map the strategic centers and peripheries of the Tokugawa penal system. Heavy banishment entailed the prohibition from setting foot in the provinces of Musashi, Sagami, Kōzuke, Shimozuke, Hitachi, Kawachi, Awa (in Honshū, not to be confused with Awa in Shikoku), Kazusa, Shimōsa, Yamashiro, Settsu, Izumi, Yamato, Hizen, Kai, Suruga, and Kii; it also forbade travel along the Tōkaidō and Kiso highways. In other words, this type of banishment created an enormous buffer zone around the shogunal cities of Edo, Kyoto, Osaka, and Nagasaki and made travel between these areas extremely difficult, if not impossible. The province where the crime had taken place, if different from the ones listed above, was also included and, after 1745, so was the native province of the convicted criminal (if different from the one in which he or she resided). The land, house, and belongings of those sentenced to heavy banishment were confiscated and

their names were struck from the census registers. Usually they were separated from their families—although in some cases the families could appeal for permission to follow them.[14]

Medium-range banishment prevented criminals from entering the provinces of Musashi, Yamashiro, Settsu, Kawachi, Izumi, Yamato, Hizen, Shimozuke, Kai, and Suruga. Not only the Tōkaidō and Kiso highways but also the Nikkō road would have been inaccessible. (In a 1742 document issued by the magistrate's offices in Osaka, Yamato Province is no longer included; the document calls for the confiscation of the criminal's lands and house as additional punishment.) Finally, light banishment affected the area within ten *ri* (approximately 25 miles) of Edo, the entire city of Kyoto, the provinces of Settsu and Kawachi, the Tōkaidō and Nikkō roads, but not the Kiso highway.[15]

Unsurprisingly, gender and status factored into the equation: while the Osaka High Court (Ōsaka Hyōjōsho) was allowed to punish female urban commoners and female peasants with heavy banishment after 1753, it could not do so in the case of samurai women.[16] The status categories identified in the codes included warriors, farmers, townsmen, and the "homeless," meaning those who were not listed in any family register. Special provisions were occasionally made for the members of the clergy.[17]

After 1745, the government slightly modified the parameters of banishment. While they remained intact in the case of samurai, in the case of farmers and townspeople the list was narrowed down to Edo (a five-*ri* radius from Nihonbashi), Settsu, Kawachi, the person's home province, as well as the province where the crime had taken place.[18] With minor adaptations, this was the type of punishment meted out to Tokiko. Her medium-range banishment included the prohibition from setting foot in the provinces of Yamashiro (Kyoto)—home to the imperial court and "crime scene"—and Hitachi—her place of residence—as well as within five *ri* of Edo Nihonbashi.[19] A manuscript version of the sentence is preserved at the Ibaraki Kenritsu Rekishikan.[20] It was indeed common practice, after the sentence was read, to hand out the document to the convicts; since they were tied up, the guards would have placed it in their pockets. At this point the convicts would be escorted away and released; if they were samurai and had not committed any crime deemed unbecoming of their rank, they would also have had their swords returned.[21]

When the gates of Tenmachō finally opened, the caged bird Tokiko became free again. However, from the authorities' standpoint, its wings would have been clipped and its voice muted. Banishment, as they saw it, would remove Tokiko from those very networks that had sustained her activism. It was, with exile, the means by which the authorities took a dissenting voice and pushed it far enough that it could no longer be heard. Despite the debates about the

ineffectiveness of such form of punishment, which in the eyes of many simply moved the problem around but did not solve it,[22] if applied correctly, banishment could effectively sweep the rug from under an activist's feet by severing connections and forcing a full reorganization, or rebuilding, of all lines of communication. It caused displacement and approximated social death; it dissolved the circles within which the individual operated, eliminating key sources of support, information, identity, and income. It was the government's weapon against seditious networking, at least in theory. Tokiko's story, however, shows that some bonds were as resilient as the ability of the government to sever them was fickle. As much as the shogunate tried, some circles may have gotten bent out of shape, but could not be broken.

Released from custody, Tokiko went straight to her support base and spent the night at an inn in Koishikawa, where her acquaintance Katōgi Shunzō served in the Edo residence of the Mito lord. Shunzō hailed from Magone village, near Suzugoya (map 1.2). With his mother, Toyo, he had played a prominent role in the Nariaki exculpation movement since 1844 (see chapter 1). In the ninth month of that year he had delivered a petition to the Edo residence of the Kii lord (one of the Tokugawa collateral families). Detained and turned over to Mito, he had gone into hiding, resurfacing the following month and orchestrating the delivery of more petitions. He was once again asked to return to Mito, but refused. When he tried to hand in an appeal to the residence of Senior Councilor Abe Masahiro he was arrested again, sent back to Mito, questioned, and returned to his village, where he was to remain confined. However, within eight days even this requirement was lifted.[23]

Tokiko and Shunzō knew each other thanks to their membership in the same poetic circles (he had been one of her early tutors) and because of their similar political views. Their bond would continue well after the Restoration. In 1867, for example, Tokiko included in one of her poetry collections a long poem she had sent Shunzō; in 1871 she mourned the passing of his mother in another poem. She mentions him in a verse collection from 1874.[24] The Kurosawa Family Records at Ibaraki University include several letters, dated as late as 1890, which attest to ongoing contacts between Tokiko and Shunzō, and between Shunzō and Tokiko's family after her death.

On 1859/10/29 Tokiko left Edo and headed for Motegi in Shimozuke Province, a village only ten miles away from Suzugoya. There she was taken in by her former poetry tutor Kobayashi Heishichi. On 12/6 she crossed the border into Hitachi Province and returned to her hometown and to her elderly mother. In theory such disregard for the terms of her banishment was punishable by branding or tattooing;[25] however, the government often turned a blind

eye to such infractions. As long as order was maintained, the Tokugawa accepted the existence of such "open secrets."[26] Moreover, in 1859 the government had bigger problems than tracking an old woman around the countryside, and so Tokiko was never caught. Her ordeal had come to a close. Appropriately, *Letters from the Kyoto Incarceration* ends with a poem celebrating her newfound freedom. Of all the possible Chinese characters available to indicate the cuckoo (*hototogisu*), here Tokiko chooses the combination "time" (*toki*) and "bird"; *toki* was also the character she occasionally used to spell her own name:

Sumidareni	A cuckoo [Toki, the bird]
koe furitatete	singing loudly
hototogisu	in the early summer rain.
suzu no kōya no	Go and sing in the hills
yama ni koso nake	of Suzugoya.[27]

The once caged bird, the bird whose wings the government thought it had clipped and whose cry it thought it had silenced, was again flying high and singing to its heart's content.

The domain to which Tokiko returned had changed. On 1859/4/26, while she was incarcerated in Kyoto, the arrests of Mito Finance Magistrate Aizawa Idayū, of House Elder Ajima Tatewaki, and of others had precipitated a wave of protests and exacerbated the tensions with Edo. Crowds of farmers, provincial samurai, and local functionaries had marched toward Mito castle town while other loyalists had assembled in Edo. By the end of the eighth month, while Tokiko was suffering through her bouts of illness in Tenmachō, the government retaliated. On 8/27 Tokugawa Nariaki was found guilty of "being in collusion with several [people] in Kyoto";[28] his sentence to house arrest was extended, with orders to serve it in Mito.

News of this renewed humiliation traveled fast across Nariaki's domain. Unlike all other lords, whose presence in Edo was required every other year as per the regulations of the alternate attendance system, the lord of Mito was expected to remain in the city year-round. Such a requirement, as Kate Wildman Nakai points out, eventually "gave rise to the compensating conviction that . . . [he] had a mission to assist, or even guide, the shogun in the formulation of national policy."[29] Nariaki's de facto expulsion in 1859 thus represented more than just punishment: it was a symbolic repudiation of a historic partnership. On 9/4 Nariaki left Edo for the last time. Also punished were the current Mito lord, Yoshiatsu, and Hitotsubashi Keiki (Yoshinobu), both sentenced to home

confinement. Aizawa Idayū and Ajima Tatewaki would eventually face capital punishment.[30]

Moreover, when Tokiko returned home at the end of 1859, Mito was still in the midst of the controversy over the emperor's secret decree (see chapter 2), with factions arguing as to whether it should be returned to the government or whether it should be made public in other domains. The moderates, led by Aizawa Seishisai, favored its return, while the radical faction, led by Fujita Koshirō (son of Fujita Tōko), opposed it. In an effort to block the return of the decree to Edo, in the last month of 1859 the radicals blocked the road between Mito and Edo, splitting the Mito loyalist movement once and for all into two opposing factions.[31] Tokiko could not have returned at a more critical time.

The year following her release brought more drama. In 1860 the two lead actors in the great showdown of 1858 and the centerpieces of Tokiko's petition to the emperor, Ii Naosuke and Tokugawa Nariaki, died. Ii was ambushed and slain outside Sakurada Gate in Edo on 3/3 by a group of disgruntled loyalists, several of whom hailed from Mito (including the same Koibuchi Kaname with whom Tokiko had crossed paths one year earlier). Nariaki died five months later, on 8/15, while under home confinement.

There is no comment about the assassination of Ii Naosuke in Tokiko's writings from 1860, but her later works betray her admiration for the men who took his life. A poetry collection she assembled between 1864 and 1866, for example, includes segments from the diary of Kaneko Magojirō (1803–1861), one of the masterminds behind the killing. The excerpts were written between 1860/2/18 and 3/9, precisely around the time of the Sakurada attack.[32] Magojirō does not elaborate on the assassination, and, unfortunately, there is a gap in his narrative between 3/1, when we find him composing verses before the cherry trees in Yamazaki, and 3/4, when he reappears in Hakone after the assassination. In a sense, the details of Ii's death do not matter. What matters is that, by inviting Magojirō into her poetic world and by enabling him to tell the story of the days that preceded and followed the attack on Ii, Tokiko endorsed Magojirō's actions; by giving him a voice several years after his death, she also made sure he would not be forgotten. Approximately ten years later, in 1874, she revisited the Sakurada episode in one of her own poems:

Sakurada ni	I am
na nomi nokosu	of the same mind
hitobito to	as those men
onaji kokoro o	whose names, and nothing more,
awasu wagami wa	remain at Sakurada.[33]

Anxious about the prospect of historical amnesia (a topic further explored in the next chapter), Tokiko in 1874 contemplated the vanishing memories of these warriors and extended a hand in their direction to rescue them (and herself) from oblivion.

If Ii's demise impelled Tokiko to mull over the ephemeral fate of men, news of Nariaki's death had larger cosmic implications and cast a dark shadow all the way up to the high heavens. In Tokiko's eyes, death had afforded Nariaki some much-deserved peace; he had left the turmoil of this world and had joined the beauty of the cosmos: as she put it, he had "faded away with the clear moon." On the one hand it made perfect sense that the man who had fought against the onset of disorder and corruption would finally join the orderly heavens—a convergence of positive forces that bespoke congruence and brought closure. On the other, his passing was distressing for those, like Tokiko, who remained in this world. In this respect, Nariaki's death engendered great discord not only on earth but also in the high heavens, momentarily upsetting the otherwise perfect harmony of the cosmos:

Mochizuki no	I was expecting
yoi o machiete	a full moon's night
akirakeku	but the light
kumo kakure ni shi	was obscured by clouds.
kimi zo kanashiki	It was you, my lord. How sad.[34]

For a brief moment, as Nariaki faded away, the lights went out and Tokiko's cosmos turned dark.

If Tokiko's life were a film, her return to Suzugoya at the end of 1859 and the deaths of Ii Naosuke and Tokugawa Nariaki in 1860 would provide an appropriate chance to conclude the story of her adventures on the great stage of history. The final pages of *Letters from the Kyoto Incarceration* would even supply an ideal voiceover to this fadeout:

> I feel like I have now come back to life [*nido yomigaerishi*]. I shave my head often and tend with the utmost care to my three grandchildren. . . . Now I have students once again, life is good. Each day I go with the flow [*suikō ni shite*], without a moment's respite. I do not neglect to intone prayers for peace in the realm [*tenka*], for a plentiful harvest, for the safety of my lord, for good luck in war, for our enemies to leave our soil, for tranquility upon our land [*kokudo*], for all people to be wealthy and at ease with safety in their homes and a long-lasting progeny.[35]

Equally appropriate would be the lines from a poem she composed in 1860—thirty-one syllables synthesizing her foray into activism, her banishment, and her final return to Suzugoya:

Ukime mishi	I went through hard times
ukiyo no soto ni	and was tossed out
hanatareshi	of the floating world
mi wa yamazumi no	to a mountain dwelling
kikakure no io	hidden amidst the trees.[36]

Indeed, scholars who have taken an interest in Tokiko's life often present the Kyoto journey as the zenith of her activism and as a watershed of sorts, her political fervor steadily declining thereafter. They remark upon her old age—to their credit, something Tokiko herself did quite often—[37]and portray her as a woman tamed by circumstances: she had returned to Suzugoya, but she was still under banishment orders, hence vulnerable. (The government would not issue an amnesty for those punished during the Ansei Purges until 1862.) With her wings clipped and the flame of activism extinguished, they add, Tokiko returned to teaching.[38]

To get a more nuanced image of Tokiko's life after 1860 it may be useful to distinguish between engaged activism and political passion. While it is true that she never replicated a stunt as astonishing as her mission to Kyoto, there is no denying that, even after the deaths of Ii and Nariaki, she continued to be attentive to political strife and wrote conspicuously about it. Instead of dismissing her as tamed or defeated, then, one should pay attention not just to the changes but also to the continuities that span the 1860 divide. To return to the film analogy, it is too soon for a fadeout. Instead, it is in the opening line of one of Sugawara no Michizane's poems that we find the perfect voiceover to introduce Tokiko's life after banishment and her ongoing commitment to loyalism:

> "When a bird escapes its cage, its wings do not tire."[39]

Freed from its cage, the sparrow resumed its flight—facing new storms and adapting to ever-changing winds, but flying no less.

HEXAGRAMS

We cannot bring Tokiko's story to a close in 1860, with the demise of Ii Naosuke, with the ascent of Nariaki to the orderly heavens, and with Tokiko's (al-

leged) retirement from the political scene, because despite her attempts to reestablish a tranquil routine, the wheel of history was picking up speed, and it would soon send Mito domain into a tailspin. We can still fade out on Tokiko praying daily for peace in the realm and tranquility upon the land, but we must fade back in four years later on a domain in the midst of civil war.

There are no records of Tokiko's everyday life between 1860 and 1864. We can only assume that she did indeed "go with the flow," spending her days between her garden, her grandchildren, and her classroom. In the years following her return to Suzugoya, the school enrolled as many as 153 students.[40] In the 1860s Tokiko was doing well from a financial standpoint, for her family records include receipts (dated 1864 and 1866) attesting to sums of money she lent.[41]

The years between 1860 and 1864 coincided with the intensification of concrete actions against the shogunate and against the foreign intruders—assassinations, plots, alliances, attacks.[42] The eye of the storm now loomed directly over Kyoto, where the imperial court came to play an increasingly relevant role in the political infighting. In his study of the final years of the Tokugawa, Conrad Totman identifies the year 1862 as the watershed moment when the shogunate effectively lost control of the country.[43] Other characters took the lead in the ongoing drama, including members of status groups other than the samurai. On the Kyoto stage new female actors, destined to greater fame than Tokiko, made their debut—Nomura Bōtō in 1861–1862, Matsuo Taseko in 1862–1863. By then, Yoshida Shōin's dream of a collective rise of unaffiliated patriots (*sōmō no shishi*), men whose allegiance would stand with the divine country rather than with the domain, had become reality.[44] The field of vision had expanded and political issues had become a matter of "national" concern.[45] Nomura Bōtō's poems from these years, celebrating the homogenous "Japanese" spirit and the intricately woven brocade of the land of the gods, encapsulate such collective vision. In 1863 she wrote:

Samazamani	They all differ greatly
shina wa kawaredo	in quality,
mina hito no	but isn't
yamatogokoro wa	each person's Japanese soul
hitotsu naramashi	one and the same?

And again, one year later:

Kurenai no	Even the color of
yamato nishiki mo	the crimson

iroiro no	Japanese brocade
ito majiete zo	was woven by blending
dami wa orikeru	many a thread.[46]

With the stage more crowded than ever, the pace faster, and the action swifter, Tokiko the extra withdrew to the wings. At a time when most activists were (finally) looking at the large picture and fighting for the country writ large (the *tenka kokka*), Tokiko broke with rank and turned toward the small scale, the village and the domain. Therein, she found no solace. In 1864, when she picked up the brush and penned *Priceless Record of Daily Necessities* (*Nichiyō chōhōki;* not to be confused with the 1858 diary by the same title), she noted that the world around her had descended into chaos yet again: "Since the middle of the fifth month the world has been in turmoil. . . . Due to the great unrest, everyone is worried."[47]

The great unrest of which she speaks refers to the Mito civil war and specifically to the strife between the Tengu and the Student (Shosei) factions. Ever since the court had issued the secret decree in 1858, tensions had run high. Preexisting animosities pitted conservative retainers against the self-described "righteous" reformists inspired by Nariaki. Then, following the Ansei Purges, the reformist faction itself had split, generating an extreme wing (the future Tengu) and a moderate Student group.[48] The Tengu party had come together in the third month of 1864, when "revere the emperor, expel the barbarians" idealists at the head of Tamaru Inanoemon had assembled on Mount Tsukuba. Initially comprised of about sixty men, the small army grew rapidly to a force of 150. After a march on Nikkō early in the fourth month, where they called for nationwide support, the Tengu retreated to Mount Ōhira (in present-day Tochigi Prefecture). Their forces had grown to about four hundred men by the end of the fifth month.[49] In an effort to convince them to disband, Mito sent inspector Yamakuni Hyōbu to negotiate. On 5/30, while the Tengu were descending from the mountain, a splinter faction led by Tanaka Genzō clashed with a group of townsmen, killing some and burning their homes. The government then resolved to crush the Tengu, receiving the full support of the Student faction. Open civil war broke out in the seventh month. By 10/23 the Tengu troops would flee Nakaminato, where they had taken refuge, and head to Kyoto.

The population was affected, but not simply as victims devoid of any decision-making power. In a microhistorical approach to the Mito civil war, Akutsu Takuo has followed the deeds of four farmers from around Machida (modern-day Suifu village, ten miles from Suzugoya) to gauge the extent to which the Mito peasantry partook in the hostilities. Akutsu argues that domain schools encouraged peasant participation. Late-Tokugawa Mito domain

had promoted the creation of such schools (including one in Machida in 1857) to train the population in the face of the foreign threat. At the Machida academy trainees read the Confucian classics, treatises on Mito ideology, and books on history and medicine while also practicing with the sword and with firearms. Many of the students came from rural villages; Akutsu estimates that 80 percent of the men who attended a meeting at the Machida school in the fifth month of 1861 were farmers—some so low in status they did not even have a family name.[50] Akutsu's study deals with men who joined armies and fought in battles; Tokiko's case offers the perspective of a woman who experienced the war by deploying forces not of the military but of the cosmic kind.

Tokiko's diary, written in the midst of these events, is attuned to the mounting tensions; it includes descriptions of marching troops, peasant revolts, violence, and destruction. It names the names of some of the principal actors in this drama, including Tanaka Genzō and Matsudaira Yorinori, lord of Shishido domain, sent to Mito in the eighth month of 1864 to quell the Tengu revolt and restore peace. Despite her alleged retirement from political activism, Tokiko had remained alert to political news and, in her writings, still discriminated between heroes and villains. Not one to mince words, she refers to the coalition of government and domain forces that attacked the Tengu rebels on Mount Tsukuba as crooks and to Suzuki Iwami no Kami Shigemune, sworn enemy of the Tengu group, as wicked.[51] In the midst of the Mito civil war, in other words, Tokiko was far from silent and far from neutral: she took sides and aligned herself with the most violent and radical elements.

Early in the eighth month of 1864 Matsudaira Yorinori arrived in Mito to restore order. Though originally sent to represent the shogunate, Matsudaira had a change of heart and joined in the cause of the Tsukuba rebels.[52] Tokiko, aware of the situation, wrote, "I heard the lord of Shishido [domain] will come [to Mito]." And, a few days later, "In the afternoon my old neighbor came for a visit. We discussed the coming of the [Shishido] lord and rejoiced. From now on, our spirits can rest a little."[53]

"Little," more than "rest," is perhaps the key word here, for by then the rumbling of war drums had become a permanent feature of Tokiko's world. On the fifth day of that month she and her fellow villagers hid their belongings, fled their homes, and took refuge in the woods as troops advanced.[54] On the twenty-third Tokiko climbed a hill and witnessed the aftermath of the open conflict between Matsudaira's forces (by then comprised of Tengu sympathizers) and the faction led by Ichikawa Sanzaemon, which had taken control of Mito castle: "I looked in the direction of the castle town [and saw] plumes of smoke rising. The roar of cannons was loud."[55] By month's end the Shishido lord was forced out of Mito; on 9/16 he committed suicide. The shogunate regained

control of Mito. The poetry Tokiko composed at the time reflects a sense of loss and confusion, an awareness that few if any certainties existed:

Yo no naka no	Some people know
uki o shiru hito	this world's misery
shiranu hito	and some do not;
yama ni sumu hito	some dwell in the mountains,
yama ni hairu hito	some go deep into the mountains.[56]

The allusion to the work of the Shugendō practitioners (who "enter the mountains" to commune with the spirits) in this poem reminds us that, in times of uncertainty, Tokiko looked up to the heavens. The Mito civil war was no exception, for it inspired her to resume her prognostications with renewed intensity (more below). The extreme circumstances of 1864, however, demanded a novel approach, and their magnitude forced Tokiko briefly to revisit her understanding of the relationship between chaos and cosmos. The two had always interacted, but not in a perfectly equal relationship; generally, the world of humans followed its own path and, when the road turned bumpy, the cosmos intervened with warnings (the comet), words of encouragement (Michizane's ghost), and solutions (the hexagrams; the illness that, if healed, could cure the body politic). In all this, the cosmos itself remained unaffected, its beauty and perfection untouched, its order intact. In 1864 this relationship changed.

In 1864 the logic regulating the interactions between chaos and cosmos was turned on its feet: the chaos of the Mito civil war escalated to such a point that it impinged directly upon the heavens, causing them to grieve. Tokiko sensed the mounting imbalance. Upon hearing news of destruction, upon observing yet another village under attack, and upon hearing the roars of cannons all night, on 8/15 she wrote:

Mochizuki no	Even the full moon sky
sora mo kumorite	is cloudy.
furu ame wa	Could it be that the falling rain
yo ni ukibito no	is but the tears
namida naruran	of those adrift in this world?[57]

By transmogrifying an otherwise common occurrence—a seasonal shower—into a sign of cosmic angst, Tokiko stressed—poetically but no less compellingly—the gravity of the crisis around her. The rainfall on the night of 8/15 was intense, as Tokiko indicates, but it was by no means extraordinary; it became an allegory, eloquent and troubling, because of the anomalous circumstances around it. It

took extreme conditions indeed for the world's chaos to reach up and distress the cosmos. Only once had this happened before, and in the most unfortunate of scenarios: when Tokugawa Nariaki died, the cosmos had briefly gone dark. Now, four years later, a "world in disarray" (*midareyo*)[58] was chipping away at the splendor of the heavens, causing them to become clouded and shed tears. Order had been subverted in the most compromising of ways; everyone, "young and old, men and women, was shaken, because what was up has come down."[59]

If ever there was a need for an intervention (or for Tokiko to come out of her alleged retirement), this was the time. It is not a coincidence, then, that records attesting to divination sessions abound in Tokiko's 1864 diary; compared to 1858 (the year for which we also have notes on divination), 1864 was a time of much deeper anxieties, at least in Mito. In 1864, the heavens actually wept.

Tokiko's queries to the heavens reflect local concerns, preoccupations that extended from her immediate inner circles (family, village) to Mito castle town and to the domain lord. Early in the eighth month, for example, she interpreted a series of hexagrams to find out whether the days ahead would be peaceful and whether thirty villagers displaced by the conflict would be able to return home. The answer came in the form of hexagram number 31, Influence (or Wooing): "Influence, the second line from the bottom is a yin."[60]

Tokiko here uses a standard code to describe the lines of her hexagrams. The number nine indicates the solid lines of the masculine yang force, while the number six indicates the broken lines of the yin, the feminine counterpart. In divination manuals and documents, and in Tokiko's records, the characters for "beginning" and "above" indicate the bottom and the top lines respectively, while numbers from two to five indicate the position of the other lines, counted from the bottom.[61] Following this practice, Tokiko "read" the lines from the bottom up—in the case of hexagram number 31, two broken lines, three solid lines, and a broken line on top. The resulting reading, as suggested in *The Book of Changes,* is one associated with perseverance and success, and Tokiko's interpretation was indeed optimistic: "This is good. They should go back by today or tomorrow."

On 8/11, following a day during which her fellow villagers, armed with bamboo spears and rifles, had marched toward Mito, she read hexagram number 13, Fellowship or Companionship, to foresee possible outcomes: "Companionship . . . It is a good sign, but there will be war."[62] More promising were the fortunes of Mito castle and of the castle town, as suggested by hexagram number 30, Fire, a sign associated with perseverance and success: "Fortunes for the castle: Fire . . . A bit bad, then good."[63]

Tokiko was not the only one consulting *The Book of Changes* for answers. In the volatile climate of the late Tokugawa, many turned to it in search of

solutions, to promote reform, or to push for change.[64] Ideologue Sakuma Shōzan consulted it as a treasure-trove of metaphors and inspirational quotations, but not as a divination manual.[65] *The Book of Changes* was, in a sense, a timeless reference that would have seemed especially appropriate for the troubled tenor of the times: not only did its permutations summarize every problem, every question, and every answer, but its organized sections also projected a sense of order where order was lacking. Precisely because it addressed just about every situation, the approaches to and uses of *The Book of Changes* were as diverse as the permutations it described. It is against this multiplicity of approaches that we should evaluate Tokiko's contribution to the debate on the future of the country in the years of the Mito civil war and during the collapse of the Tokugawa. A comparison with another woman's use of the hexagrams is especially illuminating.

Among those familiar with *The Book of Changes* we find another loyalist sympathizer from the same generation as Tokiko: Yanagawa Kōran (1804–1879), the wife of loyalist Yanagawa Seigan. Kōran had been arrested in 1858, at the height of the Ansei Purges, shortly after her husband's death from cholera. She refused to provide the names of Seigan's collaborators and languished in jail until 1859/2/16. On the day of her release Kōran wrote a Chinese poem in which she explained the course of recent events using an image from *The Book of Changes*.

> Roaring pain, difficulties, concerns
> I wished they would be appeased in ten days.
> If the heart is well trained
> one begins to see the gods
> and it all comes together
> as a good portent in the sign *Xu* with yin on top.
> Did they come?
> The three uninvited guests.[66]

"The sign *Xu* with yin on top" indicates hexagram number 5, also known as "Waiting" or "Nourishment." *Xu* portends success based on a pure heart and a steady resolve: "if you are sincere, you have light and success. Perseverance brings good fortune."[67] The allusion to the three uninvited guests comes from the interpretation of the yin line on top, according to which, when one is in trouble, all one has to do is wait and three men will come to the rescue; if they are treated with respect, good fortune will result. Kōran, unexpectedly set free from jail, wondered whether indeed someone (the three men) had come to her aid.

There are important differences in Tokiko's and Kōran's use of the hexagrams. Arrested and then released, Kōran summed up her odyssey by comparing it to hexagram number 5, which spoke of conflict and resolution. She did not use the hexagram to read the future but, rather, to explain her immediate past. Her reflection, moreover, took the form of a Chinese poem in which she quoted from *The Book of Changes* as part of an exercise in erudition. Kōran's approach was as sophisticated and personal as Tokiko's was down to earth and holistic. A trained oracle, Tokiko would have thought of *The Book of Changes* as a tool of her trade, not as a dictionary of elegant quotations. The readings of the hexagrams as they appear in her diaries are succinct and to the point precisely because they serve a practical purpose: they answer questions and offer guidance. Unlike Kōran's, Tokiko's concern is not with the immediate past of one individual but with the present and near future of a community; she sees chaos and tries to provide a vision of order. In the process Tokiko does not fixate on metaphysical ruminations and does not wax philosophical or poetic: she formulates a question, reads the manual, and extrapolates an answer—end of story. There is something of an analytical quality to Tokiko's approach to the universe: she crunches numbers, counts lines, consults charts, and solves problems, like a mathematician attending to the heavens' equations. Her contribution to the political applications of the divine in the late Tokugawa rests precisely in the no-frills attitude with which she used the cosmic forces to envision and restore harmony in the face of discordance—be it a "national" crisis like the Ansei Treaties and the purges, or a local one like the war in her domain.

In doing so Tokiko engaged in a process whereby, to borrow the words of Michael Dylan Foster, "pandemonium" is turned into "parade." Pandemonium, in Foster's definition, refers to "a condition of riotous disturbance, chaos"; parade, by contrast, is the nonthreatening, tamed version thereof.[68] Foster's study is concerned with monsters, not with cosmic signs or portents, but the parallel is still useful; the point is that the supernatural (broadly defined), requiring as it does the acceptance of that which eludes logic, helps reconcile contradictions. In the unpredictable world of late-Tokugawa Japan, the heavens provided Kurosawa Tokiko with a sound template for order.

Almost every day Tokiko consulted the cosmic forces either on behalf of fellow villagers or on her own initiative. The endless string of hexagrams in the pages of her 1864 diary tells us that, in the catastrophic scenario of the Mito civil war, Tokiko maintained her faith in the ability of the heavens to reestablish balance. The questions she cautiously asked, however, bespeak a change in priorities. Her political passion had not faded, but had reoriented toward the local. She now had the well-being of her domain—not of the *tenka kokka*—in mind. Her involvement too had changed, finding a different outlet to express

itself: rather than jumping into action, Tokiko now chose to stay put and offer guidance. By 1864, the extra who in 1859 had stepped center stage into the spotlight had reinvented herself once again, this time taking on the role of director in the local production of a very serious drama.

In one of the last divination sessions recorded in *Priceless Record of Daily Necessities* Tokiko received encouraging news: before her stood hexagram number 14, Abundant Possessions (figure 7.1). This was a good sign indeed. As *The Book of Changes* indicates, hexagram number 14 portends great progress and success, error-free advancement, good fortune, and forthcoming help from the heavens.[69] Even though Mito domain was wrecked financially and politically after the battles of the summer of 1864—"its very soul destroyed," notes Totman[70]—Tokiko summarized the reading in a positive light: "Divination for the village: fire in heaven, great possessions. The bottom line is yang. Good for renewing things."[71]

Things indeed began to change. By the spring of 1865 the crisis in Mito seemed to be on the wane, with the Tengu faction defeated and many of its members executed, sent into exile, or banished. Following the eradication of the Tengu, the moderate Student faction took control of Mito and held it until 1868, when the Tokugawa government collapsed and the Students lost their support base. Only then did drama resume, with several former Tengu returning to Mito (now emboldened by the triumph of the imperial cause) and enacting a bloody revenge of arrests, assassinations, and executions. Many Students fled north to Aizu to join the remaining pockets of resistance to the new regime.[72]

Tokiko's writings for the years after the Mito civil war consist of poetry collections such as *Miscellany for the Four Seasons: Third Month of Genji 2* (*Shiki zatsuei Genji ninen yayoi,* 1865) or *Draft Poems for the Four Seasons* (*Shiki eisō,* 1867). Replete with conventional tropes hinged on the seasons and nature, occasionally featuring poems in praise of "my lord's reign," these works make it virtually impossible for the historian to reconstruct a coherent narrative of her life in the final years of the Tokugawa; the information is simply too scarce. Most regrettably, none of the existing manuscripts from the Kurosawa Family Collection details Tokiko's life in the months that marked the transition from Tokugawa to Meiji.

Whatever little one can patch together from her anthologies suggests that before and after 1868 Tokiko kept "going with the flow," navigating around the waves of political reconfigurations and turning around the buoys of private tragedies and personal achievements. These included a burglary that caused her great grief in 1869, the joyous celebration of her mother's eighty-third birthday, and the death of her daughter Kumeko in the twelfth month of the same year. (Her mother would pass away two years later, in 1871.)[73] But, as Tokiko

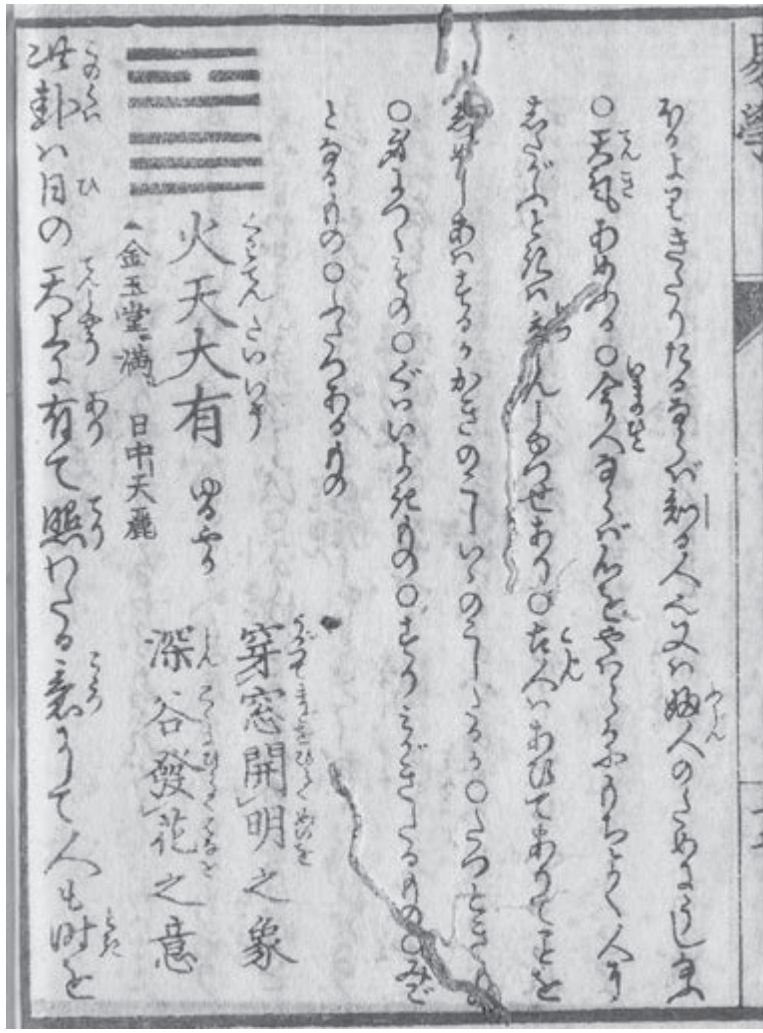


Figure 7.1. Hexagram number 14 from *The Basics of Divination: Master Arai's Secret Text* (*Ekidō uimanabi Arai sensei himitsu no sho,* 1842). *Author's personal collection.*

knew, "yesterday's sorrows will be today's joys" (*sakujitsu no ui kyō no yorokobi*); on New Year's Day, 1870, for example, she relished the thought that the country was finally at peace:

Fuku kaze mo	It is so quiet
eda o narasanu	even the blustering winds

shizukesa wa cannot shake these branches;
osamaru miyo no that is how I know this is a sign
shirushi to zo shiru of peaceful times.[74]

Hexagram number 14 had been right all along: things were changing, on the large stage of history as much as in Tokiko's small world. Adjustments large and small—in the scope of one's vision and the reach of one's actions—made it possible to manage the gyrations of the historical process on a day-to-day basis, but new challenges arose at each turn. The question now became one of memory and commemoration: what to do with the past in the midst of sweeping changes.

Part III

MEMORY, MANIPULATION, AND AMNESIA

8 ✳ Rescuing the Past from the Present

At a time when many, beginning with the Meiji government itself, were looking forward, Tokiko was also looking back. Transitions, as it turns out, come at a cost: pushed aside by the new, what was once meaningful, immediate, and inspiring loses its punch and starts gathering dust. The past, once vivid and fresh, is consigned to the shaky hands of memory. In a world that had changed, Tokiko felt displaced:

Toshi fureba	As the years pass
yo o ukimono to	I think of the world as a wretched [place].
yamazato ni	In my mountain village
mukashi o shinobu	I reminisce about the days of old:
io no akisame	autumn rain on my retreat.[1]

Writing and teaching provided a modicum of continuity in a sea of change; aside from the simple act of reminiscing and celebrating, poetry also enabled her to bridge the gap between "then" and "now"—she continued to compose verses until the year before her death.

If words offered the comfort of the familiar, they also indicated the intrusion of the new. Tokiko's writings from the early Meiji include references to the Ministry of Finance or to Ibaraki Prefecture—the former, a Meiji-era institution, the latter, the modern reincarnation of Hitachi Province.[2] Two Meiji-era neologisms in particular, "education" (*kyōiku*) and "religion" (*shūkyō*), best encapsulate the radical changes of the post-Restoration period and their repercussions on Tokiko's microcosm.[3] A teacher and a prognosticator, Tokiko saw not one but two of the pillars of her life and identity undergo a major reconceptualization.

In 1872 the Meiji government inaugurated a national school system, and the old domain academies were either abolished or reinvented as public schools. Tokiko's small classroom was selected to become Suzugoya's first elementary school, making Tokiko the first female teacher in Ibaraki. Kurosawa Tokiko,

prognosticator, convicted slanderer, and enemy of the Tokugawa, was now a legitimate employee of the modern state. Her house and annexed school offered a physical space where the vision of the new administration became reality.

Along with the creation of a national school system, the policy that impacted Tokiko the most in the transition from Tokugawa to Meiji was the forced separation of Shinto deities (*kami*) and buddhas. The rationale for the suppression was not new, and in fact mirrored arguments used against Buddhist institutions since the seventeenth century: temples were accused of being tax havens and home to profit-driven, meat-eating, sake-drinking, womanizing clergy. The eradication campaign began in the early years of Meiji and entailed anything from the defrocking of Buddhist clergy to the physical destruction of temples, statues, and implements. The new state, wary of the subversive potential of diviners, also outlawed Shugendō on grounds that it was mere superstition.[4] Much of this was not new to Tokiko, who had already witnessed the wave of anti-Buddhist reforms in her domain in the 1840s. But the impact, in this case, was amplified by the fact that, along with the religious landscape, just about everything else was in a state of flux. She tried to adapt, but with everything being reconfigured, Tokiko's role was, to her, less and less clear.

It was not just that times were changing: Tokiko was getting old, too. The transition into the new era may have had a lesser impact had she been young and energetic, but at this point she was beginning to feel the pinch of old age:

Itsu shikani	Before I knew it
musoji no saka o	I had crossed
koesugite	the slope of sixty
nanasoji ni koso	and had entered
mi wa irinikere	the road of seventy.[5]

Everyone in the early Meiji needed to negotiate between a rapidly fading past and a less than certain present. Tokiko did so in her usual creative way, engaging the heavens and the spirits. In the pages that follow I will present three key moments in the Meiji-era life of Kurosawa Tokiko during which she adjusted to the new but at the same time resourcefully fought back against the intrusive demands of the state's modern project and the onset of historical amnesia in order to preserve important elements of her past.

TOMINOMIYA'S GHOST

The first key moment occurred in 1873. With her mission to Kyoto almost fifteen years behind her and a formal recognition for her contribution to the loyalist movement nowhere in sight, Tokiko felt uncertain about her legacy. While not a crisis of the same magnitude as the one she had faced while incarcerated, the prospect of being confined to history's limbo engendered anxiety no less. To offset such anxiety, Tokiko did what she knew best: she summoned a ghost. On the evening of 1873/2/10, Tokiko writes, "Teihōin entered my dreams and penned a poem." Teihōin was the Buddhist name that Tokugawa Nariaki's wife, Tominomiya, had chosen at the time of the Mito lord's death in 1860. It is unclear whether the poem that follows is in fact the one Tominomiya allegedly produced in the dream, but it very well may be, for it reads like the melancholic mulling of a forlorn widow:

Hisakata no	Ever since you [rose] near
kumoue ni chikaki	the high sky
kimi nareba	above the clouds
au koto gataki	we cannot meet:
sasagani no ito	a spider's thread.[6]

Unlike the story of Michizane's appearance in the Kyoto cell, which correlates splendidly with the chronicle of Tokiko's sufferings while in captivity and functions as a veritable turning point in the narrative of her prison days, the Tominomiya episode is striking both for its brevity and for its apparent disconnectedness from the surrounding text. The reader stumbles upon it and leaves it baffled; there is no forewarning, no obvious crescendo leading to the vision, and no explicit lesson drawn from it. Like the apparition itself, it is a slippery fragment of the "was it a dream or was it reality?" (*yume ka utsutsu ka*) variety.

A skilled woman of letters, Tokiko knew better than to fall into the traps of non sequiturs. Its brevity notwithstanding, the summoning of Tominomiya is in fact the endpoint in a series of subtle hints that bespeak Tokiko's mounting apprehension about the growing gap between "then" and "now." While in terms of simple numbers the distance between the present and the past was not especially great, in practical terms an abyss separated the two eras. History textbooks would measure such a chasm with the yardstick of progress and advancements, speaking, in some cases, of momentous transitions from "feudal" to "modern" customs, but for Tokiko the divide simply boiled down to a question of aging and vanishing memories. It was, in other words, personal.

In the same anthology where she mentions Tominomiya's brief appearance, Tokiko presents the days of her captivity in Osaka, Kyoto, and Edo as fading away in the distance:

Omoidete	I think back,
dare ni kataran	but whom do I tell
awareyo no	about my life in a bird cage
mitsu no miyako no	in the three capitals
toya no sumai o	in those sad days?
Sugishigoro	So much time has gone by
mitsu no miyako no	since I escaped
torawa o mo	my incarceration
nagarete ima wa	in the three capitals
toshi o furusato	and now I grow old in my old home.[7]

Tominomiya thus became one of the means by which Tokiko carried the past into the present, ensuring continuity in the face of change and familiarity in the face of novelty. At the time of her incarceration in 1859, Michizane had symbolized the resilience and the ultimate triumph of the loyalist spirit, bringing comfort at a difficult moment. He was, in other words, the past that came to the rescue in the present. Tominomiya, on the other hand, was the present coming to rescue the past.

Unlike Michizane's, the ghost of Tominomiya was not, in fact, a ghost at all. When she visited Tokiko in her dream on that night in 1873, the "real" Tominomiya was still very much alive—and would go on to live another twenty years. In the absence of Nariaki, by then dead for more than a decade and far too removed into the high heavens to be within reach (*au koto gataki*), Tominomiya was a living, breathing reminder of Tokiko's actions and of the cause that had inspired them; she was the most powerful link between a past that was slipping away and a present that looked more and more removed from its prologue. Tominomiya's cameo enabled Tokiko to reclaim her legacy, sweeping off the dust of time and preserving the luster of the old in the midst of constantly "renewing things." For the time being, her past actions having yet to catch the eye of the government, this trick had to suffice.

Official recognition for Tokiko's contribution to the loyalist cause came two years later, in 1875. By then seventy years old, Tokiko had just retired from teaching. A new building had been completed to house Suzugoya's elementary school and her former classroom was no longer needed. Moreover, she now

belonged to an old generation of educators, not only in terms of age but also in terms of professional background.

What she had known as the Way of Teaching, or, simply, "learning to write" (*tenarai*), and what others in the late Tokugawa had understood as "cultivation" (*gakumon*), were now relics of the past; the meaning, scope, and purpose of education—indeed, the very word for it—had changed. Old-style cultivation entailed an individual quest for personal amelioration on the part of gentlemen scholars; modern education, by contrast, was imparted hierarchically, centrally controlled, and aimed at young citizens.[8] Its building blocks were practical, not abstract. In *An Encouragement of Learning* (*Gakumon no susume,* 1872), for example, reformist Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835–1901) promoted disciplines "closer to ordinary human needs" like mathematics, physics, economics, or geography while advocating the rejection of "impractical pursuits" such as the study of "obscure" Chinese characters.[9] A village school teacher, Tokiko did not belong to the cohort of domain academy scholars whose sophisticated yet sterile ruminations had come under Fukuzawa's fire. Still, she was not modern enough (or at all) for the new age. Article 40 of the Fundamental Code of Education, issued in 1872, required a diploma from a normal school or a middle school for teachers to exercise their profession, and Tokiko had none. Article 43 had allowed for a grace period of a few years in consideration of the fact that no such schools had been created yet,[10] but by 1875 the time was up: Tokiko had to go. With her formal retirement from teaching, an important line of continuity with her past dissolved, heightening already existing anxieties. (Tokiko continued to offer occasional private lessons after 1875.) The official recognition came at just the right time to assuage, if only temporarily, some of her fears.

In 1875 Ibaraki Prefecture Councilor Seki Shinpei issued a request to recognize, at long last, Kurosawa Tokiko. He extolled her dedication to the imperial cause, explaining how "such heroism and zeal are not found among all other grass-root-level [i.e., activist] women in the world," and regretted that the government had hitherto failed to offer Tokiko any praise. Fortunately, he added, measures had been finally taken to acknowledge her actions: "After a special investigation on this person, we have arranged for three people to offer testimonies on her life. Moreover, [we have] writings, her personal history, and a written statement from her family, so we [can] make our case."[11]

The case Seki made turned the logic of the Tokugawa upside down, using gender as a catalyst of commendation, not condemnation. The Tokugawa authorities had considered Tokiko's case doubly problematic because it combined

insubordination against the status quo with disregard for gendered rules of propriety. Seki's appeal, by contrast, presents it as doubly extraordinary. First, Tokiko rose above the limitations of a gender defined by apathy and trepidation, achieving levels of courage and determination hardly ever seen among women. Second, she also overcame women's inferior literary skills, and, when it came to poetry, she was "unmatched by men as well." Straying beyond the boundaries imposed by gender, once an incriminating factor, was now the source of great admiration.

In recognition of her contribution to the imperial cause, Tokiko received a lifelong grant of land worth ten *koku*[12] (one *koku,* corresponding to 180 liters or almost 45 gallons, was the amount of rice needed to feed one person for one year; in the Tokugawa era it was the standard unit of measurement to estimate the agricultural output of a land, hence its value). The announcement with which she was honored read as follows:

> Ibaraki district, Suzugoya village.
> Toki, wife of the late Kurosawa Nobusuke [Sukenobu], farmer.
>
> Having harbored a remarkable determination to revere the emperor for a long time, she poured her whole heart [in favor] of the country. In the fifth [*sic*] year of the Ansei era she secretly traveled to Kyoto and was eventually arrested. Nevertheless, it is commendable that [such circumstances] could never change her determination, and for this reason she is to be honored with a lifelong grant of [land worth] ten *koku* of rice.
>
> *February 3, 1875.*
> *Ibaraki Prefecture.*[13]

Whereas the Tokugawa authorities had refused to accept the notion that as a woman Tokiko could have traveled alone and written the poem/petition by herself, with this document the Meiji bureaucrats transformed her liability into an asset. Tokiko is initially presented as an appendage to a male figure—her second husband (or, depending on the source, her stepfather), Kurosawa Nobusuke, or Sukenobu. Said link to a male figure, however, is entirely forgotten in the main text, where Tokiko is honored in her own right. Similar proclamations from the Meiji era, by contrast, tended to celebrate the accomplishments of women loyalists by relating them to the deeds of their male partners. The document with which Kyoto Prefecture posthumously honored Kōran (Keien), wife of loyalist Yanagawa Seigan, in 1869, for example, reads as follows:

> Keien, the late wife of Yanagawa Seigan.
>
> Since the days of the former [Tokugawa] government, the late Seigan displayed a profound loyalist resolve; throughout his entire life he devoted his efforts to the imperial cause. [His wife] Keien followed suit. After her husband fell ill and died, she was arrested by the officials of the Tokugawa, spent several months in jail, and was subject to harsh reprimand. However, she did not compromise her integrity in the least and endured her hardships awaiting the final restoration of the imperial rule. Such virtue deserves recognition. We hereby confer on Seigan's loyal and virtuous [descendants] a rice allowance for two.[14]

The proclamation opens and closes with the spotlight firmly on Seigan; Kōran's actions, however laudable, are contained between the two brackets that are Seigan's resolve as a young man and his equally loyal progeny. Tokiko, by contrast, lived in nobody's shade. Actions she had conceived and carried out with the support of her circles were hailed in 1875 as her own.

Following the official recognition, Nariaki's widow, Tominomiya, sent Tokiko a congratulatory poem, which Tokiko took as a blessing and as "a much joyful [occasion] for such a worthless person [as myself]."[15] The "ghost" she had encountered in a dream two years earlier now visited her again—not in person, but by way of a symbolic object, a poem that signified continuity as well as righteousness. There is, indeed, a sense of accomplishment that emerges from Tokiko's 1875 poems, many of which hint at having secured a metaphorical place in the sun. Here is one example:

Kinō made	How joyous: the summer rain
furitsuzukitaru	that had been falling incessantly
samidare no	until yesterday
harete ureshiki	has now cleared
kyō no hikage wa	and today the sun shines.[16]

Reinvigorated by the acknowledgement, in 1875 Tokiko basked in the glow of her past actions, writing verses that extolled her unswerving devotion to her long-gone lord:

Kimi ga tame	Count me
kuni no tame ni to	among those
ikinagara	who lived and died

naki hito kazu ni for their lord,
irishi wagami wa for their country.[17]

Along with a sense of validation came the resolve to reaffirm her worth as a loyalist—1875 is also the year in which Tokiko added luster to her fading memories by revising *Travel Diary* and *Letters from the Kyoto Incarceration*. But while the 1875 land grant temporarily boosted Tokiko's ego—and ensured a comfortable source of income—the inexorable passing of time continued to erode her confidence. She had to devise new methods to keep her past relevant.

A BLUEPRINT FOR SURVIVAL

By the time she received the land grant in 1875, Tokiko lived not only in a different world writ large, but also at the center of personal circles that had evolved over the years. Many of her old networks had dissolved; others were reconfigured in the light of new circumstances. The family circle had expanded with the arrival of grandchildren but had also suffered the loss of Tokiko's eldest daughter, Kumeko, in 1869 and of her youngest, Teruko, in the twelfth month of 1875. The network borne out of her school had survived the Tokugawa-Meiji transition with minor modifications. After the 1872 implementation of a national school system Tokiko's classroom had become an elementary school, but from a practical standpoint little had changed: as an educator she remained a respected member of the community. After her retirement in 1875 she continued to offer private lessons through the final years of her life. Many of the individuals—poets and loyalists—who had been part of her circles in the late Tokugawa were still in her life. Contacts with the Katōgi continued, as attested by numerous letters preserved at Ibaraki University. Tatebayashi Miyatarō, writing in 1937, also mentions the existence, at Tokiko's house, of poem drafts by Morita Yoshio (one of the likely intermediaries between Tokiko and the Kyoto loyalists) postdating the Restoration. He also indicates that Tokiko's epistolary exchanges with Kojima Harutaka (Shunson) from Iwate continued, and that he visited her in Suzugoya in the years after the Kyoto mission.[18]

Equally important in defining Tokiko's place in local society were the connections she had nurtured by way of the Hōjuin. Tokiko does not mention incantations and divination sessions in her works from the 1870s and beyond, possibly because the new era was not one conducive to public displays of soothsaying powers. The early Meiji government, preoccupied with projecting a modern image, cracked down on new religions, equaled spirit possession with mental illness, and, starting in 1872, promulgated laws outlawing shamanism throughout the country.[19] Shugendō, one of the sources of income and iden-

tity for Kurosawa Tokiko throughout her adult life, was banned that same year. In this respect it is especially telling that the 1875 document that bestows Tokiko with the land grant refers to "Nobusuke" (Sukenobu) as a farmer and not as a Shugendō practitioner and that it neglects to mention his religious title, Hōin. None of this, of course, means that people stopped practicing or requesting healing and divination services, but compliance was required, at least on the surface. In light of the government's new policies, Tokiko faced two prospects: either severing her old connections to the heavens (which would have meant denouncing and renouncing her past) or devising a new, acceptable way to converse with them. She chose the latter and, in the final years of her life, she became involved with Ontakekyō, one of the thirteen sectarian Shinto sects officially recognized by the Meiji government.[20]

Worship of Mount Ontake, a sacred peak in modern-day Nagano Prefecture, had begun in the Nara period (710–784) and had developed under the influence of Shugendō. The mountain gained popularity in the late eighteenth century thanks to the monks Kakumei and Fukan, who opened two routes to the peak and organized religious confraternities.[21] Kakumei also reduced the number of days one had to spend in seclusion before entering the mountain from seventy-five to twenty-seven, enabling more people to participate in Ontake rituals.[22]

Ontakekyō as a modern religious organization began in 1879, when Hirayama Seisai (1815–1890), head priest of Hirakawa Shrine in Ōmiya (Saitama), brought together various groups of former mountain ascetics under two organizational frames, Ontatekyō and Taiseikyō. Hirayama's decision came on the heels of the failed Great Promulgation Campaign of 1870–1884. To promote the idea of a unified Shinto creed, the Meiji state had recruited evangelists from a host of religious organizations old and new; among them were members of the Buddhist clergy, reeling from the effects of the campaign to separate *kami* and buddhas initiated in 1868, as well as former leaders of Tokugawa-period new religions, all of whom saw the Great Promulgation Campaign as a chance to receive state sanctioning and ensure survival in the face of uncertain times.

The recruitment of evangelists from diverse backgrounds created problems. On the one hand, several new religions had to compromise and lose part of their original identity in the name of survival. On the other, many newfangled evangelists never let go of notions and practices from their former creeds.[23] Sarah Thal, for example, has shown how the religious administrators of Konpira in Shikoku, a site with profound historical ties to Buddhism and Shugendō, adopted a veneer of Shinto (renaming the site Kotohira, for example) but in fact deployed a variety of tricks to spare the original identity of the site from

historical oblivion. By compressing the characters for Kotohira so that, when written vertically, they would in fact be read "Konpira," by retaining ambiguities in the content of the pilgrimage site, and by preserving Buddhist statues on the grounds that they were important cultural properties, not religious implements, the Kotohira administrators kicked the site's traditions out the door just to let them back in through the window.[24] Given such premises, the resulting message of the Great Promulgation Campaign, in Konpira as elsewhere, was a hodgepodge of platitudes at best, an incoherent mess at worst. It is against this background that major Shinto administrators like Hirayama attempted to solve the problem by spearheading the creation of sects they founded and controlled. Ontakekyō was one such organization.[25]

Tokiko already knew of Mount Ontake, having acknowledged the power of its deities during her 1859 journey to Kyoto. She did not visit the mountain at that time—even if she had wanted to, she would have been turned away, for Mount Ontake was off limits to women. However, she stopped to worship its deities from afar, "kneeling and worshipping, kneeling and worshipping, and pledging from the bottom of my heart to bring my great undertaking to a successful conclusion."[26] Her involvement with Ontakekyō began in 1885, when she met Sekiguchi Minesaburō (1860–1942). In 1884 Minesaburō had founded a local chapter of Ontakekyō in his village of Hōshido, Tochigi Prefecture. The following year he decided to establish more associations in the neighboring areas and turned to rural Ibaraki, where his path crossed with Tokiko's.

There are obvious reasons why Tokiko would have been attracted to practices centered on Mount Ontake. Like Shugendō practitioners, believers in the power of Ontake enter into the mountains and perform austere rites of purification. Ascetic practices in remote, rugged locations enable them to cross the divide between the world of humans and the world of the gods and spirits, and between life and death.[27] From the foot to the summit, Mount Ontake is divided into three zones corresponding to three different stages of proximity to holiness: the space of humans (lay followers) at the bottom, the area reserved for the ascetics in the middle, and the world of the gods and spirits at the top. Encounters between humans and deities take place in the middle level, the space of the religious specialists. Here the trained ascetics perform the so-called oza ceremony, during which they speak to the spirits by way of ecstatic trances and possession.[28] Ontake's belief in the presence of a porous barrier between the world of humans and the world of the spirits explains why when given the possibility to associate herself with this particular organization Tokiko would not have seen it as incongruous with her cosmology. Ontake's notion that the spirits and the gods intervene to help humans deal with their problems, as they do

in the oza ceremony, would also have resonated with her, for the Ontake spirits do precisely what Tokiko expected the cosmic forces to do: bring order where there is chaos.

At the same time, Tokiko's decision to join Ontatekyō may have been a crime of opportunity, so to speak: the historical moment allowed for it, and Minesaburō materialized just at the right time. By the mid-1880s the dramatic actions of the Meiji state against Buddhism in general and Shugendō in particular were many years in the past; having realized that a complete eradication was not possible, the state had already begun the task of reincorporating Buddhism into the nation's history.[29] By then, religious initiatives were no longer front and center, and the preoccupations of the Tokyo politicians had shifted to military and industrial buildup. Becoming a religious leader may have brought Tokiko additional income at a time when higher taxes and deflation had reduced the economic wherewithal of many a citizen.[30] In her late seventies at the time, Tokiko may not have been actively involved in the search for an alternative to her previous affiliation, but Minesaburō appeared, and she seized the chance.

In 1887 Tokiko penned a request to establish a chapter of Ontakekyō in Suzugoya, with her house as headquarters. The following year Ibaraki governor Yasuda Sadanori (1844–1892) and Ontakekyō's head Otori Sessō (1814–1904) approved the request, making Tokiko the local chief representative of Ontakekyō in Suzugoya with the title of Provisional Junior Prefect of Instruction (Gon no Shōkyōsei).[31] As Helen Hardacre points out, Otori Sessō was one of the many "recycled religionists" who had survived the Meiji-era attempts to separate Shinto and Buddhism by reinventing their religious affiliations. A former Buddhist priest, Otori had turned to Shinto in 1871 and was appointed head of Ontakekyō in 1885. A bureaucrat at heart, Otori probably saw his authorizing of Tokiko's request as part of his mission to educate the populace.[32]

Several documents preserved at Ibaraki University indicate that, even after Tokiko's death, her house continued to serve as an Ontakekyō branch under the leadership of Minesaburō, who by then had married into the family and had taken the Kurosawa name, becoming Tokiko's great-grandson by adoption. A large number of Buddhist mortuary tablets found in the house (all dated after Tokiko's death) suggest that Minesaburō did not see his role as Ontakekyō representative as irreconcilable with the performance of death rites. If the sizeable stone phallus Gotō Norio, Yokoyama Yuriko, and I uncovered during a visit to the house in 2012 is any indication, fertility rituals were also performed under the Kurosawa roof. The Kurosawa, like Otori, were "recycled religionists" who blended new and old beliefs without any sense of contradiction.

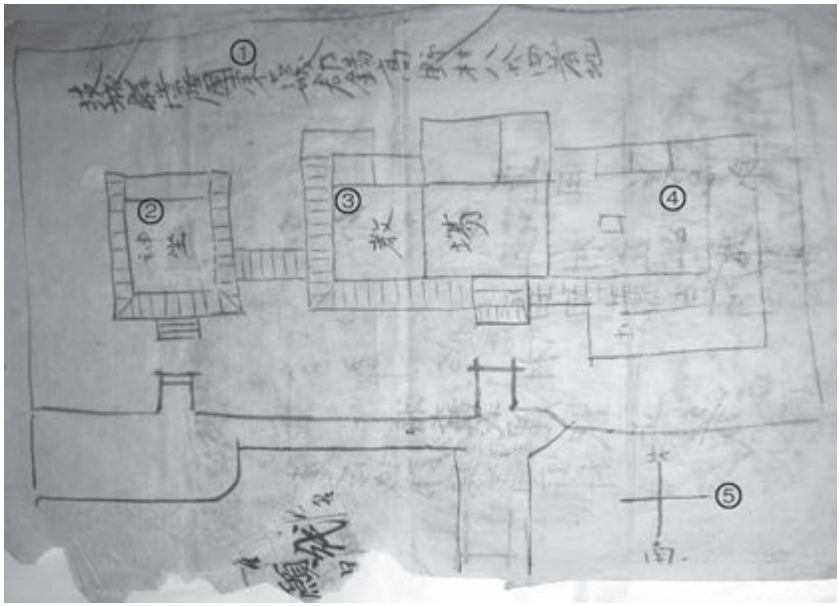


Figure 8.1. The blueprint of Tokiko's house from her 1887 request to establish a Suzugoya chapter of Ontakekyō. 1. Address identifying the property: Ibaraki Prefecture, Hitachi Province, Eastern Ibaraki district, Suzugoya village, House no. 84; 2. the "room of the *kami*" (*shinza*), no longer standing; 3. the classroom (*kyōjō*); 4. the kitchen area (the small rectangle indicates the hearth); 5. north (top)–south (bottom) axis. *Courtesy of Ibaraki University Library.*

One of the documents attesting to Tokiko's efforts to establish an association with Ontakekyō includes a blueprint of her house, showing the arrangement of her living and working spaces (figure 8.1). It indicates the areas reserved for her private school and the space of worship—"the room of the *kami*." (In its current configuration the native home still includes the classroom and the living space, but not the room of the *kami*.)[33] The blueprint offers us another key to unlock Tokiko's Meiji-era efforts to rescue the past from the present, providing a snapshot of the process whereby individuals whose identities (and sources of income) had been eradicated after the Tokugawa-Meiji transition weathered the storm by squaring old circles. With the vision of Tominomiya in 1873, Tokiko had reasserted her identity as a political activist at a time when she felt that the deeds of the loyalists were becoming a relic of the past. Likewise, with the 1887 blueprint Tokiko managed to reclaim her role as a religious specialist on this side of the 1868 divide. By renaming the Hōjuin "the room of the *kami*" Tokiko pulled a Konpira-to-Kotohira-type stunt, layering

the old with a thin veneer of the new. The makeover preserved her legitimate role as a religious figure in the community, while rescuing the heavens—Tokiko's cosmos—from the relentless attacks of progress.

A MODERN VESSEL

If it is true that the new age contributed to the erasure and eradication of the past, it is also undeniable that it provided hitherto unimaginable opportunities to preserve memories indefinitely. Thanks to a modern invention, the camera, Tokiko found a third and final way to mediate between past and present and to assuage her fear of historical amnesia. In 1889, one year before her death, she posed for a portrait photograph (figure 8.2). I offer here one possible reading of the image that is consistent with Tokiko's view of the relationship between the world of humans and the world of the spirits and fits in well with her previous attempts to keep the past present.

The circumstances that led Tokiko to pose for the photograph, as well as the exact day in which it was taken, are not known, but one should assume that an important event was involved. By 1889, photography was no longer the exotic vector of "civilization and enlightenment" it had been two decades

Figure 8.2. Tokiko in 1889. *Courtesy of Ibaraki University Library.*

earlier. At the same time, portrait photography was not yet a mundane, everyday occurrence: it required at the very least a formal setting—a studio with plenty of light and room for props, for example, and an artfully staged background.[34] Photography, for most, was still the stuff of great occasions.

What great occasions did Tokiko enjoy in 1889? There are two options: the first pertains to the large historical frame; the second, to Tokiko's microcosm. Let us start with the big picture. In Japan the year 1889 was memorable for the promulgation of the Constitution on February 11. In the metropolitan areas, in the rural villages, even in the remote mountain hamlets, February 11 became a day to remember, a key moment in the country's journey toward not just modernity but also worldwide acceptance. On that day, decorations adorned the streets, special meals were served, and citizens everywhere, including Suzugoya, celebrated.[35] The festivities continued for months, culminating with the investiture of the crown prince on November 3.[36] Tokiko may have decided to commemorate the event by posing for a portrait photograph.

While rejoicing about the great progress of the present, Tokiko would have also been mourning the passing of the past. As Kokaze Hidemasa has compelling argued, 1889 was "an epochal making year" that marked a beginning as much as it did an end. On the one hand, the Constitution raised Japan's international status and set in motion the process of acceptance that would lead to the revision of the unequal treaties in 1894; on the other, 1889 turned the Tokugawa past from political discourse into history. The tensions engendered by the Restoration were neutralized as the Meiji government extended a hand to the Tokugawa and celebrated them as the founders of "Tokyo." In a similar effort to wipe the slate clean, the state posthumously forgave Saigō Takamori and bestowed court rank upon former loyalists Yoshida Shōin, Fujita Tōko, and Sakuma Shōzan. By 1889, argues Kokaze, "to talk of the Restoration was no longer to talk of the present; it had become a discourse about the past."[37] The past, once again, needed rescuing.

There is a second option to explain Tokiko's portrait, one that pertains not to the sphere of large-scale history but to her personal microcosm. In 1889—the exact date, unfortunately, is unknown[38]—Nariaki's widow, Tominomiya, visited the Tokugawa family tombs in Mito and met with Tokiko. After being a fleeting vision in a dream, after materializing in the form of a congratulatory poem at the time of Tokiko's official recognition, Tominomiya finally appeared in person, bringing a long process of mutual acknowledgements and distant admiration to completion. This occasion may also have merited memorializing.

There is no hard evidence linking the commissioning of the portrait specifically to Tominomiya's visit, to the conferral of rank to Restoration

loyalists, or to the promulgation of the Constitution, but that is almost beside the point. The value of the image is elsewhere. Like Tominomiya's dream appearance in 1873 and like the 1887 blueprint, the photograph is a bridge between past and present, an attempt by Tokiko to deflect the impositions of the modern and to halt the onset of historical amnesia in ways that may not be immediately obvious.

At first glance, the photograph immortalizes the Tokiko of the present, of the 1880s. There is no evident trace of the past. A closer look, however, unveils a different image. Despite all appearances, Tokiko is not alone in this portrait. Posing with her is a small army of ghosts, of individuals otherwise elusive, gone, and invisible to the naked eye, brought back for the occasion by way of symbolic vessels not unlike the ones shamans used to summon the spirits. In shamanistic practices such vessels are called *yorishiro;* they often take the shape of elongated objects—trees, banners, wands, swords—to convey the sense that the spirit is descending from a higher plane.[39] None of the traditional *yorishiro* of the religious specialists is visible in the photograph because none is there. The vessels Tokiko used on this occasion are metaphorical ones: the strips of paper—elongated objects, no less—placed to her left. Saiki Kumi at Ibaraki University has enlarged the original photograph, successfully deciphering one of the poems inscribed therein.[40] It reads as follows:

[unreadable] Congratulations

Kimi ga tame	For our lord
tateshi misao no	you raised a clear mirror
masukagami	of devotion
kiyoki hikari wa	and it will shine brightly
yorozuyo mademo	for all eternity.
	Signed: Tokiko

It is thanks to this poem that we know Tokiko was posing not for an individual portrait but for a group picture, a final rendezvous with the iconic figures of her past.

First in order of appearance among the unseen presences in the room is, predictably, the ghost of Tokugawa Nariaki. The first line of the poem instantly brings him ("our lord") into the picture. Ever unforgotten, Nariaki is seized from the past, from the oblivion of historical amnesia that so terrified Tokiko in her final years. With the dust of time wiped away, the mirror polished, Nariaki's luster is made to shine "for all eternity." The poem offsets the ruptures of the historical process by reconnecting Tokiko with the figure at the center of

her act of loyalty, by then thirty years in the past, and by cementing her bond with him for centuries to come—the past, present, and eternal future converging in thirty-one syllables, now forever joined.

The second ghost lurking in this image is that of Katōgi Toyo (Shunzō's mother), who had died in 1871. Toyo was the original recipient of the aforementioned poem (the "you" in the English translation), which Tokiko had sent her in 1867.[41] As noted in chapter 1, Toyo had traveled to Edo in 1844, after Nariaki's first stint under house arrest, to petition for his release. Years later Nariaki had heard about her feat of devotion and had acknowledged her with a certificate of merit (*hōjō*) and with a mirror in which he had inscribed these verses:

Kokonoe ni	Even now,
ima mo masumi no	a perfectly clear mirror
kagami koso	at court:
nao yo o terasu	may its light shine more and more
hikari narikere	over this world.

This was a great honor. Nariaki had rewarded others among his supporters, but usually with simple gifts such as fans or bowls. He presented mirrors inscribed by his own hand only on rare occasions; another recipient was, for example, Kaneko Magojirō (of Sakurada Gate fame), whom Nariaki had recognized in the Tenpō era (1830–1844) and whose poems Tokiko had copied in one of her collections. Tokiko's congratulatory poem was inspired by the honor Toyo had received. Additionally, it may have been a belated acknowledgment of the model of activism Toyo had provided: Saiki argues that Tokiko's decision to write a petition to exculpate Nariaki and to travel to Kyoto in 1859 may have been fashioned after Toyo's actions in 1844.[42] Whether this was the case or not is not important: what matters is that Tokiko looked up to Toyo as an exemplary loyalist, and in 1889 she brought her back from the dead to be included in the photograph.

By choosing a poem that hinted at the "perfectly clear mirror" Tokiko also invited a third ghost of sorts—the emperor himself. Otherwise elusive and above the clouds, the emperor could at least be summoned, if not in person at least symbolically, by invoking the mirror, one of the three sacred regalia that indicate imperial authority. Tokiko's awareness of the association between mirrors and emperors is documented: at the time of her incarceration, when she was being accused of embedding secret messages into her petition, one of the Kyoto interrogators had asked her whether the word "clear mirror" included in one of the poems attached to her petition was, in fact, code for Nariaki. Her an-

swer was: "No, that indicates one of the three sacred regalia of the august emperor, the mirror in the Office of Palace Attendants."[43] The mirror was thus a projection of the emperor.

Sugawara no Michizane was also in attendance. One cannot help but notice that the verses inscribed on the strip of paper are similar to those from one of the poems Tokiko had composed in honor of Michizane during her 1859 incarceration (see appendix, sixth poem). The ghost of the illustrious courtier thus returns yet again, this time not to give Tokiko strength at a time of crisis but to partake in her final triumph. As his appearance in her cell thirty years earlier had announced, at the end of the road great honors awaited indeed.

Last but not least, by resurrecting Toyo, Tokiko also paid tribute to Toyo's son Shunzō (still alive in 1889), whom she had sought at the time of her release from prison. More than just a fellow loyalist and poetry tutor, Shunzō represented Tokiko's loyalist network writ large, the entire support system that had inspired and enabled her 1859 mission. By introducing a simple prop in her portrait, Tokiko thus belatedly reconnected with a long-gone group of like-minded people, a cohort of loyalists past and present, near and far, alive and dead. Their presence in the room is not obvious at a first glance but becomes evident if one looks at the delicate interplay of strategically placed "reflecting mirrors." The portrait, in sum, is a snapshot of Tokiko in 1889 as much as one of Tokiko in 1859; it is one final act of negotiation between past and present, between fading memories and timeless commemorations.

While there is no way of knowing with absolute certainty whose idea it was to use this particular poem as a prop, it is safe to assume it was Tokiko's. Since there could not have been any expectation that the lines would be readable in the photograph, the photographer was under no obligation to embellish the scene with those specific verses, or even with verses penned by Tokiko, for that matter; he could have picked any random strip of paper for decorative purposes. This particular selection is too eloquent and laden with symbolism to be strictly ornamental, much less accidental. Only Tokiko would have grasped its full meaning. Nineteenth-century Japanese photography, Allen Hockley reminds us, was consumer-driven and the photographer/artist was bound to accommodate the requests of his customers. "Agency for the imagery," Hockley writes, "ought to be posited with its consumers."[44] And agency is precisely what Tokiko claimed in her battle against historical amnesia.

The use of the prop indicates one last thing about Tokiko's determination to call her own shots: the Meiji government's calls for "modern rationality" had spectacularly failed to erase her identity as a religious specialist of the old (that is, un-modern) kind. The Tokiko we see in this image has ignored the requests to eschew "superstition"; unconcerned with the Meiji-era diktats against the

supernatural and the uncanny, she has successfully, if surreptitiously, deployed a material object to channel a cohort of spirits into the room and to keep them with her "for all eternity." As Margarita Winkel reminds us, the word for photograph means "the reproduction of reality."[45] Even in the modern age, reality for Tokiko was never detached from the world of ghosts and spirits with which she had conversed freely in her years as an oracle. Not only an act of rescuing the past from the present, the prop in the portrait is also a symbol of Tokiko's resolve to keep the lines of communication between the heavens and the everyday open at all times, at all costs, Meiji modernity notwithstanding.

Tokiko the sparrow flew out the window in 1890, at age eighty-five, after a long life lived against the backdrop of dramatic changes, a life spent with an eye to the heavens and one to the world, a life that brought her from mere footnote, to headline, to chief editor of her destiny's script. As hexagram number 14 had anticipated, she had lived her life constantly "renewing things." Having left the room for good, Tokiko lost the ability to control her image and her legacy. The chapters that follow continue to trace the flight of the sparrow by examining not the way in which Tokiko told her own story, but the ways in which others did it for her.

9 ✳ The Many Reincarnations of Kurosawa Tokiko

Like the ghost of Sugawara no Michizane, the ghost of Kurosawa Tokiko also came back from the dead. Two factors, one local and one national, facilitated her return beginning in the early twentieth century. At the local level, Mito natives resurrected Tokiko and heralded her as a symbol of their former domain's contribution to the birth of the Meiji state. On the national stage, the promulgation of an 1899 law requiring the establishment of higher schools for girls in every prefecture prompted the creation of a gender-specific curriculum that would provide new and appropriate models of femininity.[1] Both local and national agendas spurred a historiographical interest in the lives of Restoration women. In resurrecting the ghost of Tokiko, however, intellectuals and historians, state politicians, and provincial bureaucrats found themselves in a bit of an ideological pickle, for they unearthed aspects of her life that did not always square well with new mainstream values.

On the surface, Tokiko's story provided a template for admirable principles big and small—from patriotism to dedication to the household, from loyalty to erudition, from hard work to resourcefulness. One did not have to dig deep, however, to detect a preoccupying penchant for independent thinking (possibly a gateway to radicalism), a disregard for gender obligations, and troubling flirtations with the (by modern standards) irrational. What twentieth-century ideologues found difficult to handle were, in other words, Tokiko's very own chaos and cosmos.

The complex issue of female activism turned out to be as hard to ignore in the twentieth century as it had been in the nineteenth. In the first decades after the Restoration, the Meiji government, preoccupied with the rise of the Popular Rights movement, did not pay much attention to the place of women in politics.[2] In 1875 Tokiko had even received recognition with a text that extolled her ability to rise above the limitations of gender. In the 1880s, however, things began to change. In response to the push for an increased participation of women in the political debate, to requests for gender equality, and to appeals for women's suffrage, the state curtailed women's ability to act in the public sphere. The

1883 Newspaper Law limited the ownership, directorship, and editorship of print media to males over the age of twenty, with the result that the inspirational stories about strong-willed women (including Tokiko) that appeared in the press were always filtered through the male gaze.[3] After 1888 only adult males could claim the right to being "public persons," to vote, and to serve in municipal assemblies.[4] Two years later, in 1890, the Law on Associations and Meetings made it illegal for women to attend political rallies or join political groups, a ban reiterated with the Security Police Law of 1900.[5] In 1921, reflecting back on the relation between women and politics since the 1890s, Baron Fujimura Yoshirō even asserted in no uncertain terms that a politicized woman "violates the laws of nature."[6]

While enacting policies that wrote women out of the political sphere, the government also promoted an image of femininity encapsulated in the slogan "good wife, wise mother" and rooted in ideals of self-abnegation, frugality, hard work, and devotion to childrearing. These good wives and wise mothers could and should be at the service of the state, but only insofar as they nurtured its basic unit, the household. "Like civil servants," housewives could think of themselves as "veritable officers of the state in its microcosm, the home."[7] It would take some pushing and pulling to lodge Tokiko's story within this frame.

Her conversations with the heavens presented another thorny issue. In an effort to project the image of an advanced, progressive nation (one undeserving of the unequal treaties), the early Meiji government looked at all things supernatural as "pests to the modern project" and, as Gerald Figal has compellingly illustrated, "targeted [them] for extermination":[8] it abolished Shugendō in 1872 and pursued an active agenda of eradicating shamanism and spirit possession and of persecuting the new religions. Nakayama Miki of Tenrikyō, for example, incurred the wrath of the state for impinging on the turf of the clergy—"On what authority do you base your belief?" she was asked. The authorities ascribed her trances to a nervous disorder and accused her "of bewitching people by prayers and charms."[9] Divination survived the Meiji government's attempt to eradicate it, but did so mostly in the guise of a popular game (*kokkuri*)—no longer pertaining to the lofty realm of the mystic, not yet fully erased by science, it was now tolerated as an expression of the ludic: a bit childish, somewhat undignified, occasionally smile-enticing, definitely harmless.[10]

The question thus arose: Could Tokiko's ghost be brought back safely or would it unleash uncontrollable forces of radicalism and superstition? Ghosts are notoriously tricky, but if appeasement had worked with the fearsome Michizane, it could also work with Tokiko. Enshrined in the pages of magazines, proclamations, letters, and books, she would be retroactively assigned titles less of the preternatural and more of the patriotic kind. Where everything else failed,

there was always creative editing. Like Sugawara no Michizane, Tokiko would thus return after her death, not in the guise of a vengeful spirit but in the form of a tamed heroine and a model for women to follow. As part of a series of politicized memory projects, her resurrected phantom would bespeak current agendas and ongoing preoccupations more than it would past indignations or, for that matter, strict historical accuracy. The stage had changed and so had the script.

In a way that befitted a base-born nobody, Tokiko began her post mortem career from the sidelines. The first agenda that her ghost came back to serve was not a grandiose national one, but a more modest one that appealed to local Mito promoters. As Michael Wert reminds us, "memory activists" were especially dedicated to shaping memories of the Restoration, particularly when it came to the fate of the losers.[11] Because she had sided with the victors, Tokiko did not need the kind of commemorative rehabilitation reserved for the former Tokugawa supporters; however, not unlike them, she too became a tool in the hands of local activists bent on shaping national narratives of the fall of the Tokugawa.

It was in Mito that in 1900 Tokiko staged her first comeback in the pages of Gunji Atsunobu's *Unparalleled Now and Then: The Woman Loyalist Tokiko* (*Kokon musō retsujo Tokiko*). As the title suggests, this was a triumphant return predicated upon the notion of exceptionalism. There are two introductions to the volume.[12] The first, dated 1899, is penned by Kashiwada Morifumi (1851–1910), then governor of Ibaraki Prefecture. The second, undated, is the work of Sekito Kakuzō (1844–1916), author of *Mito Castle* (*Mitojō,* 1900) and of *A History of Civil Rights in the Far East* (*Tōsui minkenshi,* 1903). Both introductions set the stage by drawing a clear line between heroes and villains: on the one side, the shogunate, its misgovernment, and the tyrannical policies of Ii Naosuke, a man who "defied public criticism" and, with the Ansei Purges, killed patriots and men of virtue; on the other, Tokiko, "resolute and indomitable, wholeheartedly devoted, heroic in her determination and honor." From the beginning, readers understand that *Unparalleled Now and Then* is more than Tokiko's life story: it is the saga of Mito domain as a whole in its valiant historical struggle against the injustices of the late Tokugawa government.

In attempting to handle Tokiko's chaos and cosmos, twentieth-century ideologues deployed two techniques: manipulation and omission. Gunji's work is a model of both. Tokiko's gender, for example, is an issue only insofar as it presents an obstacle for her to overcome and demonstrate her greatness. In a narrative based on dialogues that are often embellished or fictional, Gunji has Koibuchi Jihei (Suzugoya's village head, with whom Tokiko had traveled for a

small part of her trip to Kyoto) marvel that Tokiko would have crossed rivers and mountains "with the body of a woman." Elsewhere the work reminds its readers that Tokiko was "a weak woman" and that she had embarked on her mission "despite being a woman."[13] Stressing her handicaps accentuates the exceptionality of her actions, all undertaken in spite of her gender. Her story, thus, becomes so extraordinary that, as one of the contributors emphatically proclaimed, it "ought to be told and retold in perpetuity."

The narrative also makes no mention of Tokiko's stint as a traveling peddler or of her career as an educator, thus omitting examples of agency and ingenuity that predated her embracing of the loyalist cause. Such silences make for a much more memorable political awakening, as Tokiko goes from zero to sixty in a matter of seconds. Gunji's is, indeed, a narrative based on sharp turning points and defining moments: great indignation upon hearing of the Ansei Purges, the sighting of the comet, and the unexpected visit from Shishido Nakatsukasa lead Tokiko to her decision to go to Kyoto.

What purpose did this mutilated reincarnation of Tokiko serve? In several ways, Gunji's narrative echoed the story Tokiko had told her interrogators after her arrest. Gunji's goal, however, was not simply the defense of one historical character but, more broadly, an encomium of the former domain writ large: Gunji, who had published *An Unofficial History of Mito* (*Mito yashi*) three years earlier, wrote with Mito in mind. With *Unparalleled Now and Then* he told the story of a patriot who bursts onto the scene seemingly out of nowhere—an accidental heroine who represents the degree to which even the weakest of the weak in Mito domain felt impelled to protest the unfairness of the Ansei Purges. With Gunji's monograph Tokiko comes back from the dead to boost the historical and historiographical image of her domain and to recover ostensible Mito values like true courage and unconditional devotion that appeared to have been lost in the modern age. It is not a coincidence that one of the contributors, in his introduction, explicitly decried the fact that only thirty years after the Restoration "the samurai spirit has dried up and everyone, everywhere, merely courts profit."[14]

With *Unparalleled Now and Then* Gunji brought attention to a remarkable case study in Mito loyalty that had yet to make it big on a national scale. During her lifetime Tokiko had been conferred the land grant; a transcript of the 1875 document penned by then Ibaraki Prefecture Councilor Seki Shinpei is indeed included in Gunji's work. Tokiko had also been acknowledged by Nariaki's widow and had met her in 1889. After her death, however, bigger accolades had failed to materialize. When *Unparalleled Now and Then* was first published, the Imperial Household Agency (Kunaishō) had already honored four female loyalists from the late Tokugawa period with posthumous court

titles (see table 9.1), but not one of them was from Mito. Gunji does not explicitly declare whether *Unparalleled Now and Then* is in fact an attempt to promote Tokiko's image so she too would receive court rank, but it is fair to assume so. In any case, Gunji succeeded in his attempts at promotion, for his work ended up influencing the author of the first piece on Tokiko to appear in a women's magazine circulating nationwide.

A couple of years after the completion of *Unparalleled Now and Then,* the ghost of Tokiko resurfaced in the pages of *Women and Children* (*Fujin to kodomo*). Shimomura Miyokichi (1868–1938) penned eight short installments about her that appeared in the magazine between 1902 and 1904. The first four, simply titled "Kurosawa Tokiko," provide the basic biographical framework for her life, from her birth to the bestowal of the land grant in the Meiji era. The final four appeared under the title "The Legend of Kurosawa Tokiko: A Supplement" ("Kurosawa Tokiko-den hoi"). Shimomura visited Mito in 1903 to see firsthand the various sites associated with Tokiko. Moreover, between the first and the second series of installments he had read Gunji's *Unparalleled*

TABLE 9.1 Loyalist Women Honored with Posthumous Court Rank

NAME	DATES	PROVENANCE	RANK, DATE OF CONFERRAL
Muraoka no Tsubone	1786–1873	Kyoto	Junior Fourth Rank, 1891
Ikeda (Kawase) Kō	1818–1865	Ōmi	Senior Fifth Rank, 1891
Nomura Bōtō	1806–1867	Chikuzen	Senior Fifth Rank, 1891
Matsuo Taseko	1811–1894	Shinano	Senior Fifth Rank, 1903
Keikōin Shuetsu	?—1509	Kyoto	Senior Fourth Rank, 1905
Keikōin Seijun	?—1566	Ōmi	Senior Third Rank, 1905
Keikōin Shuyō	?—1611	Ōmi	Senior Fourth Rank, 1905
Kurosawa Tokiko	1806–1890	Mito	Junior Fifth Rank, 1907[a]
Uryū Iwako	1829–1897	Iwashiro	Junior Fifth Rank, 1924
Yanagawa Kōran	1804–1879	Mino	Junior Fifth Rank, 1924
Muraoka Koto	?—1870	Marugame (Sanuki)	Junior Fifth Rank, 1928
Wakae Nioko	1835–1881	Kyoto	Junior Fifth Rank, 1928

Adapted from Takaki, "Sōmō no josei," 257.

[a] Incorrectly, Takaki lists 1891 as the year when Matsuo Taseko received her posthumous court rank and 1903 as the year when Tokiko attained hers.

Now and Then and, realizing how succinct his earlier version of the story was, decided to expand it.[15]

Aware of Tokiko's lingering anonymity, Shimomura glorifies her by association with more illustrious loyalists. In the first installment, for example, he compares her to Nomura Bōtō, the nun from Fukuoka, and to Tsuzaki Noriko of Kyoto, better known as Muraoka no Tsubone. Both, by then, had established their reputation as über-heroines of the loyalist movement, having been among the first women to receive posthumous court rank from the Imperial Household Agency in 1891. Shimomura also connects Tokiko to famous male loyalists by the clumsy trick of pointing out that she was born in 1806, the same year as Mito native Fujita Tōko. (Had he looked closer, Shimomura would have noticed that Nomura Bōtō was born in 1806 as well, but that was not the point: with Nomura Bōtō, Tokiko already shared her gender. Shimomura needed a way to bring a prominent male figure into the mix fully to establish Tokiko's credentials.)

Since Shimomura's purpose was not to hail the greatness of Mito, his rendition of Tokiko's story differs from Gunji's in several important ways. Whereas Gunji's narrative is one of sharp turning points and quick-burning flames, Shimomura, writing for a female audience in a magazine whose title celebrated motherhood, presents us with a slow, gradual scenario. Born in Mito, Tokiko was exposed to nativist thought since her childhood, we are told, making it inevitable that she would blossom into a splendid loyalist flower. Even before the arrival of Commodore Perry in 1853, "deep down in her heart she harbored a concern for the state of the country."[16] With Perry's arrival, "the gates of our closed country were knocked down, and we were jolted awake from our languid dreams." The country plunged into chaos and Tokiko felt the sting of a "righteous patriotic indignation." At the end of 1858 someone (Nakatsukasa, but his name is not mentioned) advised her to go into hiding to escape the dangers of the Ansei Purges, but Tokiko "was steadfast, and to this [invitation] she replied that she had already devoted herself to the country. . . . The person who had made such suggestion could not help but feel ashamed."[17] It was at this point that Tokiko resolved to travel to Kyoto "all alone," motivated by "unswerving loyalty."[18]

The phantom of Tokiko that materializes in the pages of *Women and Children* is rational and suspiciously modern. Shimomura did not use either term, but his editorial choices speak for him. The comet, which Gunji had at least cited as one of the factors that had induced Tokiko to rush into action, is completely absent from this story. Shimomura includes a digression on Shugendō, but does so to contextualize the figure of Tokiko's father, not her. In the second series of installments Shimomura presents several excerpts from Tokiko's

prison diary (lifted from Gunji's work and edited), but selects only the ones that hint at her gender consciousness—a topic with which his readers would have identified—and ignores any discussion of ghosts and portents. A magazine dedicated to motherhood in the day and age of good wives and wise mothers, *Women and Children* was an unlikely platform to endorse a rendezvous with occult forces; Tokiko's story thus became one of determination and inner strength, "sincerity and zeal," and "pure honor."[19] Each time she returned from the dead, Tokiko had to reenact slightly different scripts.

With Shimomura, Tokiko made the first leap from regional to national sensation, but major posthumous recognitions continued to elude her. In 1905 the Imperial Household Agency bestowed another round of titles upon loyalist heroines of the past, but it ignored the late Tokugawa era altogether and focused instead on three sixteenth-century nuns connected to the revival of Ise Shrine (table 9.1). Tokiko also failed to make the list in *Biographies of Loyalist Heroes* (*Kinnō resshiden*), a Who's Who of nineteenth-century patriots published in Tokyo in 1906 by the gloriously named Office for the Erection of Monuments and for the Celebration of Deeds of Loyalist Heroes (Kinnō Resshi Shōkō Kenpi Jimusho).[20]

The following year, however, Tokiko's ghost finally entered the inner sanctum of loyalist tradition. On November 15, 1907, seventeen years after her death, forty years since the Restoration, Tokiko joined the likes of Muraoka no Tsubone, Nomura Bōtō, and Matsuo Taseko and became one of only a handful of women to be granted posthumous court rank as Restoration icons. She was the fifth and last Tokugawa-period female activist to receive such recognition in the Meiji period; four more women would be added to the list in the Taishō and Shōwa eras. The certificate with which she was bestowed Junior Fifth Rank carries the signature of Imperial Household Minister Tanaka Mitsuaki (1843–1939). The November 16 morning editions of two major national newspapers, the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri,* reported the news.[21] Along with Tokiko, twenty-three other loyalists from the former Mito domain received posthumous rank on November 15, but she was the only woman on the list.

The timing made sense in several ways. In November 1907 large-scale military maneuvers were being carried out in Ibaraki, with none other than Emperor Meiji in attendance (the imperial headquarters had been set up in Yūki city).[22] With the spotlight focused both on Mito and on the emperor, the time was ideal to remember and honor the deeds of the local loyalists. The *Asahi* article openly links the emperor's presence in Ibaraki to the posthumous honoring of the loyalists.

The year 1907 in general brought progress, distinction, and a sense of accomplishment to the former domain of Tokugawa Nariaki. Only one year

earlier, the *Great History of Japan* (*Dai Nihonshi*), the monumental encyclopedic study of the imperial institution whose compilation had begun in the late seventeenth century, had been brought to completion. In 1907 electric lights and telephones had arrived to Mito city—tangible symbols of the advance of progress.[23] By 1907 Japan as a whole had reached several milestones worthy of a modern nation, including important victories in war and the acquisition of colonies. The Meiji Industrial Exposition held at Ueno Park between March and July of that year had showcased such state-of-the-art marvels as electricity, a Ferris wheel, and a swimming pool. The unequal treaties had been long lifted, but new tensions with foreign powers had arisen: the Gentlemen's Agreement of February 1907, for example, curtailed the immigration of Japanese citizens to the United States, resurrecting the specter of racial antagonism. In this ambivalent climate of optimistic smiles and degrading slaps in the face, of great pride and renewed indignities, honoring Mito loyalists also made sense because of obvious historical parallelisms: fifty years earlier, they had taken it upon themselves to oppose foreign encroachment and stand up for their country.

In Tokiko's hometown, news of the honor bestowed upon the local icon was met with elation. The local Office of the Festivities for the Conferral of Rank (Zōi Shukusai Jimusho) sent out a request for poems celebrating Tokiko's great achievement.[24] Preparations began for a ceremony to be held at Minesaburō's house on the eighteenth anniversary of her death (1908/5/8); fellow villagers "of a like mind" were invited to attend.[25] The Kurosawa Family Records at Ibaraki University contain various celebratory poems and congratulatory addresses dated 1908/5/8 and penned by long-time family friends (such as the Katōgi) and prominent local figures, including Kurihara Yūichirō (principal of Iwabune Elementary School) and Mito history scholar and Iwabune mayor Takasu Kōzō.[26]

Within the span of seven years, from 1900 to 1907, local agendas, national politics, and even international preoccupations brought Kurosawa Tokiko from regional sensation to imperially sanctioned heroine. Having completed her apotheosis, one would expect the ghost of Kurosawa Tokiko to become a standard feature of all loyalist biographies produced thereafter. However, this was not the case. In the decades that followed, Tokiko was ignored or barely mentioned. There is a noticeable lull in Tokiko's historiography between the first decade of the twentieth century and the 1930s, one that even her biographer Tatebayashi Miyatarō remarked upon in 1937.[27] Anthologies that otherwise celebrated loyalists often neglected to include her; Arima Sukemasa's *The Loyalist Collection* (*Kinnō bunko,* 1919), for example, features the prison diaries of Nomura Bōtō, Takasugi Shinsaku, and Saigō Takamori, but not Tokiko's.[28]

Others did mention her, but in passing, with no fanfare,[29] and often in tellingly distorted ways. A 1921 anthology of verses by loyalists featured her long petitionary poem and three of her thirty-one-syllable compositions (*waka*). The version of the petition included therein, however, is slightly different from the original; most notably, the direct reference to Ii Naosuke and his "evil deeds" is missing, and what Tokiko had originally called "august reign" has become, appropriately, "our country."[30] Horiuchi Seiu's *One Hundred Heroes of the Restoration* (*Ishin hyakketsu,* 1910) also manipulates Tokiko's story. Despite being published three years after the bestowal of posthumous rank, the work makes no mention of it. It is also silent on the comet and on Tokiko's dabbling with divination. The entry praises her as "a brave woman of devotion and indignation" and as a model citizen who enjoyed writing poetry in the spare time she had from farming, spinning, and weaving. In so doing, this work deprives Tokiko of any agency, firmly lodging her within a traditional niche of female respectability and obedience. Moreover, in this version of the story Tokiko acts not out of her own volition but on behalf of a man, Kusakabe Isōji, a loyalist who had served under both Satsuma and Mito domains.[31] With his attention to the delicate balance between female activism and devotion to household chores, not to mention his lack of interest in the role of the cosmos in Tokiko's worldview, Horiuchi anticipates several of the distortions to which the story of Tokiko would be subject two decades later, during her second great comeback in the 1930s.

In the 1930s the ghost of Kurosawa Tokiko returned to the world of humans to provide, again, much needed guidance. Many saw a parallel between the current time and the turmoil of the late Tokugawa: in both cases thorny domestic issues, severe tensions in the international arena, and the specter of war afflicted the country. Against this background, late-Tokugawa loyalists (men and women) were resurrected as paragons of loyalty, frugality, and focused determination. *Japanese Women: A Cultural History* (*Nihon josei bunkashi,* 1938), for example, argued: "Our country, Japan, ranks among the great powers of the world; our armed forces attain glory each day, and there is no denying that the foundations of this [glory] are found in the great deeds of the Meiji Restoration."[32]

In February 1938 Tokiko reappeared in the pages of a women's magazine when *The Housewife's Companion* (*Shufu no tomo*) ran a story by Yoshikawa Eiji, author of historical novels, titled "Patriotic Women: An Illustrated Story." Had it been a movie, "Patriotic Women" would have been a blockbuster, considering that the circulation of *The Housewife's Companion* in the 1930s

amounted to almost one million.[33] Guest starring with Tokiko were such illustrious women loyalists as Muraoka no Tsubone, Nomura Bōtō, and Matsuo Taseko.[34] Tokiko got the part because

> she never stopped arguing that all citizens should join their hearts under one ruler in the face of foreign threats. This [stance] did not immediately pay off and she ended up traveling as a prisoner in a palanquin in the frozen rain, but eventually, many years down the road, she came to the new imperial capital, Tokyo, where she basked in the glow of the imperial majesty and of a new Japan [*shin Nippon*].

The historical circumstances had changed dramatically since her first comeback in the early 1900s. What had not changed, in this "new Japan," was the uneasiness with which those who staged her return handled Tokiko's penchant for challenging gender boundaries and her conversations with the heavens. Most authors still thought it important to give credit to female participation in political activism while at the same time offering an excuse for it; as a consequence, almost every acknowledgment of women's contribution to the loyalist movement included a "desperate times call for desperate measures" caveat. Moreover, Tokiko's dialogues with the forces of the yin and yang, her rendezvous with Michizane, and her experience with the comet remained problematic. At a minimum, they were case studies in female irrationality, lack of discipline, or hysteria; in the worst of scenarios, they could imply national backwardness. For this reason they were to be minimized if not altogether erased from the record. Tokiko's 1930s and 1940s return to the stage thus required a strategic repositioning of the spotlights to create just the right balance of lights and shadows. As a result she came back in sporadic cameos, her story told in fragmented, manipulated tidbits. She was offered a role—that of paragon—that looked good on paper but that, in reality, required her to conceal her true self behind a mask.

Consider for example Nunomura Yasuhiro's *Women and the Meiji Restoration* (*Meiji ishin to josei,* 1936). In the interwar years the appearance of the "new woman" and of the "modern girl" had brought about both new freedoms and new limitations.[35] Coming as it did at the end of such an interval, Nunomura's monograph captures the tension between new and traditional roles, revealing a special concern for the extent of women's active participation in politics. *Women and the Meiji Restoration* does not interest us for what it says about Tokiko (which does not amount to much) but for what it omits. Its

silences illuminate a historical moment of transition and perplexity, a moment when nationalistic sentiment, the quest for inspirational models, and the need to acknowledge new roles for women converged and had to be reconciled with traditional expectations.

In *Women and the Meiji Restoration* Tokiko plays only one role, that of "female warrior" willing to sacrifice her life for the emperor.[36] The credits, so to speak, roll immediately after her sentencing and banishment; her life as a teacher and her life after the Restoration are completely ignored. Tokiko's political activism is not an interlude in an otherwise intricate and multifaceted life; it is her entire life. By saying nothing of Tokiko's other interests and identities, Nunomura turns her into an exceptional figure, one to admire from a distance rather than emulate.

Nunomura's work captures not only the endpoint of the debate on the new woman that had developed in the interwar years but also the beginning of a historical moment prominently defined by conflict. At this junction, as mentioned earlier, the parallels between "now" (the 1930s) and "then" (the late Tokugawa) were coming into focus, and models of patriotism from the past were in high demand. Lingering notions of feminine passivity, however, clashed with the need to inspire women to be active. Such a dilemma transpires clearly in the introductory pages to Nunomura's work. *Women and the Meiji Restoration* begins with the premise that history must tell the story of "the rulers with the ruled, the privileged with the masses."[37] Inclusivity, however, does not mean uncritical acceptance. Though he commends the activities of nineteenth-century female loyalists, Nunomura is careful to emphasize that their involvement with politics occurred under extraordinary circumstances, "at a time of [such] crisis for the nation" that it became impossible for them "to sustain the household."[38] Ideally, it is suggested, these heroines would have stayed in the domestic sphere; unfortunately, circumstances dictated otherwise. Along the same line, the aforementioned *Japanese Women: A Cultural History* (1938) glorified the contribution of women to the loyalist cause, praising them for being filled with "a truly patriotic spirit" and, in some cases, for outdoing men.[39] When it comes to introducing Tokiko, however, the text also specifies that, before the Ansei Purges precipitated an inescapable crisis, she was "following the way of the household" (*kadō o mamori*).[40] Rather than endorsing female activism, these works in fact apologize for it.

A similar attempt to compromise between gender and activism emerges in Ogawa Enson's *Behind-the-Scenes History of the Late Tokugawa: Tales of Loyalist Heroines* (*Bakumatsu rimenshi: Kinnō retsujoden,* 1943), published in the midst of the Pacific War. In the opening pages Ogawa states that women in

patriarchal societies owe obedience to their fathers, husbands, and sons; their duties include being graceful, bearing children, and being subordinate. As the word *kanai* (wife, literally, "inside the house") exemplifies, argues Ogawa, they are homebound by definition. How does domesticity square with political activism, then? Loyalist women of the late Tokugawa, says Ogawa, did not break the rules; rather, they demonstrated their loyalty while remaining obedient to male figures: "these women were heroines who poured their hearts into Japan's distinct loyalist [cause] while at the same time following a purely Japanese Way of the Women."[41] Like Nunomura, Ogawa presents Tokiko not as someone who purposely acted against the social fabric but as someone who had to make a tough call in the face of extreme circumstances, a call she would not have made otherwise. Also like Nunomura, Ogawa casts Tokiko in a unidimensional role. The illustration that accompanies the text portrays her as an undercover traveler on a mission (figure 9.1). Suspended in a timeless landscape (as exemplified by the ancient temple), Tokiko has almost no facial features. Like the abstract model she was supposed to present, this Tokiko was reincarnated not as a physical person but as a concept.

Figure 9.1. Tokiko as a traveler on the move and an abstract model of female activism in *Behind-the-Scenes History of the Late Tokugawa: Tales of Loyalist Heroines* (1943). Ogawa Enson, *Bakumatsu rimenshi: Kinnō retsujoden* (Tokyo: Ryōkoku Minsha, 1943). *Courtesy of Kadokawa Shoten.*

Ogawa's indistinct portrait reveals how some of the editorial manipulations to which the story of Tokiko's life was subject in the 1930s and 1940s also applied to the visual media. The 1938 article on patriotic women from *The Housewife's Companion* also included an image of Tokiko as a traveler (figure 6.2). Unlike Ogawa's, however, this one featured an abundance of detail, from the lush vegetation of the forest to Tokiko's facial traits. It was, though, no less manipulated, and sent subtle yet unambiguous messages that are worth unveiling.

Because of its size (taking up half of the first page and virtually all of the second), the illustration "speaks" to the readers before the text does, presenting them with the snapshot of a young female traveler lost in the woods—a veritable damsel in distress. For all its poignancy, however, this image is a fake; it caters to 1940s agendas more than it does to historical accuracy and does so by manipulating Tokiko's looks. Far from being a young lady, the "real" Tokiko was well into her fifties at the time of her journey to Kyoto. The attached text suggests she had already "approached her forties," but the image makes her look much younger. There is an explanation for this case of creative editing, but before we get to it, let us pause for a moment and flip back one page, where the discerning reader would notice a similar manipulation at work in the story of Nomura Bōtō.

Bōtō, the loyalist nun from Fukuoka, is here depicted in the act of copying *The Heart Sutra* (*Prajna-paramita sūtra*) using her blood as ink. The episode is historically accurate: Bōtō writes about it both in a letter ("Recently I started writing *The Heart Sutra* in blood, something I had been talking about for some time") and in her prison diary, where she says she performed the act as a tribute "for those who are deceased," referring to her fellow Fukuoka loyalists.[42] Her writings unmistakably indicate that Bōtō wrote *The Heart Sutra* in blood while exiled and imprisoned on Himeshima in 1866, which means she would have been sixty years old at the time (sixty-one by Japanese counting). The woman in the illustration, however, is much younger looking. Why would *The Housewife's Companion* repeatedly alter such a seemingly trivial detail?

One reason is marketability. The majority of the magazine's readers at the time consisted of unmarried working women or newly married ones; *The Housewife's Companion* therefore tended to feature cover girls who would embody either the prototypical "young lady" (*musume-san*) or the "young wife" (*wakafujin*) "to whom the average lady could relate closely."[43] By contrast, at the time of their deepest engagement with political activism, the "real" Tokiko and Bōtō were significantly older than the average reader of *The Housewife's Companion,* a detail that could have made it difficult to relate to their stories. Moreover, not only were they older, but, at this point in their lives, they had both

been widowed for a long time and were no longer concerned with issues of child rearing, much less child bearing. (In 1829 Bōtō had married a samurai with three children of his own; she bore him four, but they all died in their infancy.) Tokiko and Bōtō were thus given a symbolic facelift in an effort to make them appeal to *The Housewife's Companion*'s target readers.

There is, however, a second possibility, one that is less related to marketing and profit and more to ideology. By portraying Tokiko as a damsel in distress lost in a dark forest (and Bōtō as a prisoner drawing her own blood), *The Housewife's Companion* used her story as a cautionary tale for its young female readers: this is what can happen if you meddle with politics. The text itself, after all, told the story of how her actions had caused Tokiko to travel "as a prisoner in a palanquin in the frozen rain." Unlike other more progressive magazines of the time (for example *Fujin kōron*), *The Housewife's Companion* promoted domesticity over politics.[44] With this insert on Tokiko (and Bōtō), it praised loyalty to the country but also reminded readers that safety existed only within the walls of one's home.

The text reiterates the suggestions made in the illustration. The narrative opens not with Tokiko leaving the domestic sphere but, rather, returning to it after a journey. As she nears her hometown, she stops at a teahouse to rest and fill out the final page of her diary, where she writes:

Oboeteka	As I remember it,
ume mo warau zo	even the plums smile
waga kokyō	where I live.[45]

Why had she left? As the text explains, Tokiko was a poet who traveled for her art:

> Having approached her forties she had cut her black tresses, donned a faded coat, and had grown accustomed to carrying a walking stick [i.e., to travel]. She considered herself a female haikai master. She was the wife of a Shugendō practitioner from Naka district, but after his death she had gone with the flow, idling with the clouds, appearing to devote her heart to nothing but poetry.

Besides having ridden herself of any "superstitious" Shugendō influence, this Tokiko also had a patriotic conscience, but a passive one at that: "knocking on her door," adds the piece, one would find "a center of loyalist studies and a refuge for patriotic samurai." Tokiko, in other words, was not one to steal the scene—like the 1930s women she was supposed to inspire, she knew her place

and understood that her role was not to act like a man but to be of support and assistance to men.

Had it not been for a fortuitous encounter at that teahouse, Tokiko would have never turned into an activist. As luck would have it, however, Shishido Nakatsukasa arrived at the same teahouse and immediately recognized her as a fellow poet (notice, in the following excerpt, the use of her pen name):

> "Ah, isn't that Rikkyō? When did you get back?" There he was: her dear friend, Hitachi loyalist scholar Shishido Nakatsukasa.

This is the turning point when the poet is pushed into action. Nakatsukasa tells Tokiko about Nariaki's arrest and about the Ansei Purges and begs her to flee in a very dramatic fashion:

> Everyone knows that, beside poetry and verses, you usually devote your heart to the imperial household. Run! You are at the crossroad between life and death [literally, "the crossroad between this world and hell," *jigoku to kono yo no wakaremichi*]. It would be best if you ran off to Ezo or to Kyushu, now.

At the crossroad between this world and hell, with her dream of a smooth reentry into the bliss of the domestic sphere (where "even the plums smile") shattered, Tokiko makes the unavoidable decision to plunge right into the eye of the storm and head out to "turbulent Kyoto."[46]

As with the illustration, the text too features a telling distortion. The encounter with Nakatsukasa, as Tokiko writes in one of her diaries, had taken place in her house, not at a teahouse in the woods. Why change yet another seemingly minor point? This editorial choice may be key to yet another aspect of the political inclinations of *The Housewife's Companion*. Founder Ishikawa Takeyoshi believed in the separation of genders, so much so that at the magazine's headquarters male and female reporters met in separate rooms.[47] By staging the encounter in a public place rather than at Tokiko's home *The Housewife's Companion* sent the message that there was a time and a place for everything, and that the house was not a suitable arena for intermingling, much less for political conspiracies.

The Housewife's Companion's characterization of Tokiko as a poet who had distanced herself from the influence of Shugendō reminds us that, along with gender-inappropriate behavior, Tokiko's role as a religious specialist remained a cause of great concern. This apprehension, as we have seen, harkened back to the early Meiji period, when the government had ordered the suppression of

new religions and of Shugendō. The crackdown had continued in the interwar years, when even progressive magazines like *Fujin kōron* reminded women that "the power of the world is in science" and enjoined them to get an education rather than flirting with "many superstitions."[48] Unlike the issue of female activism, which could be retrofitted but never ignored (it was in fact the very reason why Tokiko's ghost was resurrected in the first place), matters of the spiritual kind could be omitted from the narrative without trouble, and they often were. It is possible, for example, that the concern for the association between spirituality and (female) irrationality led Takamure Itsue (1894–1964) to gloss over Tokiko's role as a divination master in the *Great Biographical Dictionary of Japanese Women* (*Dai Nihon josei jinmei jisho,* 1936).

The *Great Biographical Dictionary* was published in the same year as Nunomura's *Women and the Meiji Restoration,* a work that reflected the tension that new opportunities for women had generated. As a woman, Takamure had experienced such tension on a personal level; she opened her autobiography (which she started composing in the 1930s) by proclaiming, "I have always been someone's child, someone's wife, but at the same time, I have been a poet, a historian, and, of course, an individual member of humanity."[49] To this already long list of credentials Takamure would have added anarchist and feminist. In 1925 she had created a stir by briefly divorcing her husband and penning "The Leaving Home Poem" (Ie de no shi) to celebrate defiance and the rejection of the household.[50] Takamure was not a paragon of domesticity. Yet, for diametrically different reasons than Nunomura's and despite her endorsement of multiple and overlapping identities, she too found it important to produce an altered version of Tokiko's story, one that would present her as a source of inspiration for modern, rational times. She could not afford, in other words, to jeopardize Tokiko's qualifications by introducing elements that would cast doubts about her lucid determination and clear sense of purpose.

The heavens, one may add, did not awe Takamure in the least. As early as 1918, at the time of her pilgrimage to Shikoku, she had written about her "vague dread of magnificent, mysterious things" and about her quest for a "sense of wonder" that was clearly lacking. While Tokiko looked up toward the heavens and saw signs and wonders, Takamure saw nothing. The sky, she wrote, "is not good, and again it is not bad. It is only empty; yes, only empty."[51] She was not an atheist, yet she did not think that professing her faith in Kannon would ipso facto make her a mediator between the human and the divine; at the time of her Shikoku pilgrimage she made several snide remarks about the gullible people who thought that, as a pilgrim, she would have acquired special healing and fortunetelling powers.[52] Later in life she once again identified the supernatu-

ral with weakness when, in her autobiography, she spoke of being rejected by a man in these terms:

> I was facing a major crisis. I felt a tremendous sense of incongruity, a world with no sky was painted like a rainbow in my head. Day or night it seemed as though vampires and witches were flying around my head, calling out to me.[53]

In order to function as a model of female strength, Tokiko had to return from the dead in the guise of a strong-willed woman, not of someone at the mercy of cosmic forces. For this reason, comets, ghosts, and hexagrams found no place in the *Great Biographical Dictionary* entry on Tokiko.

There is a second silence in Takamure's story, and it has to do with Tokiko's activities as a teacher. This one is more difficult to explain, for Takamure herself had worked as a teacher and was interested in matters of education.[54] It is possible that Takamure, who by her own admission felt pulled in multiple directions by her many roles and obligations, opted for a streamlined narrative in which the protagonist was nothing but a champion of justice. Takamure thus envisioned and created a Tokiko who, "with no help from others," set out "to rectify . . . injustice," period. Appropriately, the opening line of her entry reads, simply, "Kurosawa Toki[ko] (2466–2550): heroine."[55]

In most cases Tokiko's connections to Shugendō were acknowledged (if at all) only by mentioning her father's affiliation with the mountain religion rather than her own experience as a diviner. *Japanese Women: A Cultural History* (1938) goes as far as to say that "She was nurtured in the beliefs of Shugendō, the family business," but immediately adds that "she was also accomplished in nativist studies and in the art of Japanese poetry," offsetting the dangerous implications of the former with the safe and respectable presence of the latter.[56] The use of a passive voice ("was nurtured," *yashinaware*), moreover, exonerates her from any responsibility, for it suggests unsolicited exposure; the clarification that Shugendō was the family business (*kagyō*) also sustains the impression that Tokiko was an accidental recipient of its principles. Her passive exposure to Shugendō stands in contrast to her active quest for an education in nativism and Japanese poetry and to her subsequent accomplishments. Tokiko, in other words, was a discerning heroine who knew to pursue activities that were safe, meaningful, and acceptable in the "new Japan."

As part of a comprehensive memory project, the new and improved Tokiko of the 1930s and 1940s served as a model for the modern woman as much

as an embodiment of the ideal Japanese subject. As a paragon of female virtues, she was made to project obedience (Ogawa), heroism (Takamure), love for the domestic sphere (*The Housewife's Companion*), and sacrifice (Nunomura). As a model citizen she was of sound (rational) mind, for a superstitious subject would have implied backwardness on a national level. The requirements of modernity and of the nation caused entire episodes of Tokiko's story to end up on the cutting-room floor, like unused footage that no longer fit in with the script. In her original role, Tokiko wrote the script, acted the part, and directed the action. In the modern remake(s) of her story, however, others were calling the shots. Mito sympathizers were no exception, as the next chapter will show.

10 ✳ Circles Redrawn

The View from 1930s Mito

In 1930s Mito, Tokiko's accomplishments remained a source of great local pride. In a former domain that had no shortage of connections to iconic figures of the Restoration, to lack one's hometown hero (or heroine, as it were) was unthinkable. Boosterism and a quest for distinction motivated local historians and bureaucrats, who had been the first ones to advertise Tokiko's feats, to carry on with their mission in increasingly grandiose ways, writing hagiographies, erecting monuments, and founding societies named after her.

Many of the goals and methods of the Mito bureaucrats and sympathizers coincided with those expressed in publications that circulated nationwide: at a time of uncertainty and instability, Tokiko was an exemplary woman, frugal, devoted to the nation and to the household, and overall inspiring. For example, a pamphlet produced locally in 1937, the year of the outbreak of the war with China, claimed, "we are facing a time of national crisis and all Japanese citizens, men and women, young and old, . . . must prepare to serve with loyalty and courage. . . . It is especially in times like these that one cannot but wish there were more women like [Tokiko]."[1] Tokiko's supporters in Mito also applied the same tricks of lights and shadows to illuminate that which they found appealing about her story and to obscure that which did not fit their agendas.

In many other respects, however, the stories that came out of Mito differed from the ones featured in magazines and monographs produced elsewhere—showing how local interests trumped preoccupations shared at the national level and gave a distinct shape to regional memory projects. First, the stories produced in Mito tended to place greater emphasis on Tokiko's identity as a poet and on her role as an educator. Including these facets of her life enabled her local supporters to tell a longer, more nuanced story; they did not have to ring the curtain down at her arrest and imprisonment but could stretch Tokiko's act all the way into the Meiji period. Second, even though her local supporters, just like the authors of nationwide circulating works, edited out inconvenient scenes from her life, they did so for different reasons. Less interested in

obscuring problematic aspects of Tokiko's multilayered character, they hoped instead to present the story of her journey to Kyoto as an unmitigated success. Third, whereas the "real" Tokiko had often felt displaced and disoriented in her transition from the Tokugawa to the Meiji orders, the heroine of 1930 Mito apologists fit right in with the modern—a modern not just of the Meiji, but even of the early-Shōwa kind (one that the historical Tokiko never experienced). Lastly, in applying their own creative editorial techniques, Mito historians and bureaucrats seemed especially obsessed with redefining Tokiko's networks. They drew new circles within which to lodge her and made sure that her already remarkable figure would bask in the additional glow that emanated from established celebrities. Attempts at glorification by association were not new, of course; Shimomura had deployed similar tactics in his *Women and Children* installments in the early 1900s, and *The Housewife's Companion* would do the same in 1938. In Mito, however, the reconfiguration was relentless and occurred along especially creative lines to secure the local heroine's (and her domain's) place in the larger narrative of the Restoration.

At the forefront of the Mito-based efforts to immortalize Tokiko's life was her great-grandson, Kurosawa (Sekiguchi) Minesaburō. Minesaburō had met Tokiko in 1885 while attempting to open branches of Ontakekyō in rural Ibaraki. He had married Tokiko's great-granddaughter Akirako in 1889 and had taken the family name Kurosawa, becoming an "acquired son." Minesaburō worked tirelessly not only to keep the Ontakekyō branch afloat after Tokiko's death but also to collect, edit, and publicize her works. He produced a copy of *Letters from the Kyoto Incarceration* in which he rendered Tokiko's old language into a more modern idiom and assembled anthologies of her poems.[2]

Unfortunately some of Minesaburō's works, which were preserved in the Joshi Gakushūin library in Tokyo, burned during the 1945 fire bombings and were forever lost. Luckily, the creative efforts of another Mito native, Tatebayashi Miyatarō, would withstand the test of time. Tatebayashi had graduated from Tokyo Trinity School (Tōkyō Seisan Isshin Gakkō) in 1906; in the same year he had taken office as an evangelist for the Anglican Church of Japan (Nihon Seikōkai). By 1909 he had left the ministry and had returned to Mito, where he founded the Center for the Study of Mito Ideology (Mitogaku Kenkyūjo).[3]

Not only did Tatebayashi pen one of Tokiko's few biographies (*Kurosawa Rikkyō,* 1937), he also contributed to the perpetuation of her memory by founding and directing the Rikkyō Society (Rikkyōkai), named after Tokiko's sobriquet. Other founders included two members of the House of Peers, a retired

army colonel (Sakamoto Sakyō, who served also as president of the society), the mayor of Iwabune village, the director of a local newspaper, the principal of Ibaraki Middle School, a university professor, the chief priest of Tokiwa Shrine, and the president of a business venture.

As stated in its manifesto, the Rikkyō Society wished "to honor the memory of Kurosawa Rikkyō, heroine of the late Tokugawa period, [recipient of] Junior Fifth Rank, and to tell in perpetuity the good that came from her virtues."[4] The society would promote the image of Tokiko through a variety of means, including the publication and distribution of informative material and of her manuscripts as well as the sponsorship of a monument. The founders actively recruited members, for example by sending requests of support to local schools.[5] Membership would be open to all those who "approve and support [our] goals and actions . . . and volunteer [to promote them]." Regular members (educators and women teachers) would pay a fee of twenty *sen;* supporters could join by contributing a fee of one yen; special members, such as schools and organizations, were admitted pending payment of a two-yen fee. Honorary members paid five yen or more and could only be nominated by the society. Each member would receive Tokiko memorabilia such as her portrait, a photograph of the petitionary poem, a brief biography, or copies of *Rikkyō's Complete Works* (*Rikkyō zenshū*). Honorary members would also receive a silk scroll with her biography and portrait.

Among the literature produced by and for the Rikkyō Society is a six-page folded pamphlet titled *The Story of the Woman Rikkyō and of the Long Poem She Offered* (*Rikkyōjoshi to kenjō no chōka*), which includes a short biography, a portrait, and an image of the petition. Inside, "The Woman Kurosawa Rikkyō: A Short Narrative" ("Kurosawa Rikkyōjoshi ryakuden") recounts her venture into politics. It is to this pamphlet that we must turn, for in it we find the ideology, motivations, and agendas of Mito sympathizers at work.

"A Short Narrative" celebrates Tokiko's feat of loyalty against the background of the conventional "desperate times call for desperate measures" scenario. It presents Tokiko not as an active participant motivated by free will but as a passive bystander thrown into the political arena by unpredictable circumstances. Under Ii's policies of oppression, the text explains, patriots (including Tokugawa Nariaki) suffered all manner of abuse and indignity; some even "died as martyrs." In the midst of this crisis, Tokiko saw a comet and "secretly, in her heart, was saddened by this natural disaster." Shortly thereafter, Nakatsukasa's visit propelled her into action. When he informed her about the cruelty of the Ansei Purges, she was "suddenly" overcome by a surge of devotion and decided to travel to Kyoto, but not before receiving a full endorsement from her mother.

The narrative choices deployed in "A Short Narrative" perpetuate the revelation scenario (which explains the mention of the comet) while ignoring evidence that points to a political consciousness that had grown over time. Why? Because, as the "ideal Japanese woman," Tokiko had to be cast as a paragon of domesticity and frugality rather than as a simmering hotpot of dissent:

> She deserves our admiration as an ideal Japanese woman, as a loyalist heroine, as a female teacher, and as the model woman that modern Japan needs. She never sought glory, never pursued wealth and honors, but conducted herself well and took care of the household, yet when emergency arose she served with loyalty and courage; despite being a woman, she put her life on the line for her lord and her country attaining her loyal goal. When she returned home after it was all over, she once again devoted herself to her vocation; we believe that such spirit, which never lets [one] change one's determination of purpose, is entirely exemplary of the Japanese woman.[6]

In a world where women tend to indulge in "evil customs," to be carried away by vainglory, and to covet fame and fortune, the pamphlet continues, all should "learn a lesson from Rikkyō's acts of virtue" and from her self-discipline.

Testimony to the anxiety over the place of women at the intersection of the domestic and the public spheres, the Rikkyō Society publication celebrates Tokiko in the utmost terms, but stops short of endorsing general female participation in politics. What makes Tokiko exceptional is not only that she raised her voice but also that she knew when to stop talking; not only that she stepped out into the political arena but also that she knew when to step back into the house. Modest and frugal, Tokiko joined in the loyalist movement because of dire circumstances, but then quietly returned to her true calling, which by extension ought to be understood as the true calling of every "ideal" Japanese woman: the household, domesticity, and domestication.

Had the authors of "A Short Narrative" stopped here, they would have followed in the same footsteps as their non-Mito-based predecessors. More problematically, they would have done little to ensure that Tokiko's name live "in perpetuity." First, by their own admission, her foray into politics had been precipitated by dramatic circumstances, and while it spoke volumes about her ability to react to a crisis, it did not cast enough light on her true colors as they shone on a daily basis. Second, it had ended too soon; short of mentioning the 1875 land grant and the conferral of posthumous rank in 1907, political

activism alone would not have enabled the members of the Rikkyō Society to weave an intricate enough story of Tokiko's successful transit across the Tokugawa-Meiji divide. Admirable as it was, her engagement with politics could not be the only activity that defined her. The solution was to recast Tokiko as a character defined not only by her political consciousness but also by her impressive education: Tokiko thus got to play the added roles of exemplary poet and teacher.

Nowhere does the choice to pay special homage to her erudition emerge more clearly than in the very name of the society, which celebrated not "Tokiko" but "Rikkyō," her poetic alter ego. (Along similar lines, Tatebayashi's 1937 biography always and only refers to her as "our Rikkyō.") Inside the folded pages of the pamphlet, moreover, "A Short Narrative" establishes Tokiko's literary credentials by tracing her educational background with detail worthy of a curriculum vitae; naming her every tutor and her every skill, from haikai to *waka,* from comical verses to Chinese poetry. Perhaps most telling of all is Tokiko's portrait, also included in the pamphlet (figure 10.1). The portrait does not capture a young heroine in action, or a feisty combatant, or an undercover traveler on a mission, but rather a poised and respectable elderly woman who has weathered a great storm and has lived to write, elegantly, about it.

The erudite Tokiko of the Rikkyō Society does not live in opposition to the activist, but as a complement to her: the cover of the pamphlet commends her for being "an authority as a woman writer and loyalist in the late Tokugawa period" as well as "a pioneer female educator in the modern age."[7] An insert at the bottom of page 7, moreover, advertises the purchase of her writings as a virtual act of patriotism: "We trust that those who shed tears [of joy] having all these [writings collected] in a single volume are, possibly, the true Japanese."

By marrying her political and literary personae, the members of the Rikkyō Society could tell a better, longer story, one that began the moment Tokiko picked up the brush and continued into the last days of her life. As a village school instructor first and an elementary school teacher later, this Tokiko also made a seamless transition across the Tokugawa-Meiji rupture. Taking Tokiko's story beyond the restrictive frame of the 1850s and inscribing it within the *longue durée* (relatively speaking) not only optimized the Rikkyō Society's chances to immortalize its heroine "in perpetuity," but also enabled its ideologues to highlight aspects of Mito greatness that transcended the Restoration.

To be clear, in choosing to be more comprehensive, the members of the Rikkyō Society were catering to their own agendas, not aiming at historical accuracy. In pointing the spotlight toward Tokiko's literary persona and her village school, they purposely moved it away from her flirtations with the cosmos. Their selective approach is encapsulated, metaphorically, in the portrait

Figure 10.1. Portrait of Tokiko from the Rikkyō Society's pamphlet, 1937. Rikkyōkai, *Rikkyōkai shuisho* (Akasaka, Ibaraki-ken: Rikkyōkai, 1937). *Author's personal collection.*

from the pamphlet (figure 10.1). Upon close inspection, one will notice that this close-up is in fact based on the photograph for which Tokiko had posed in 1889 (figure 8.2): the formal kimono is the same and so are her facial expression, her slightly tilted head, and her general posture. Something, however, is missing: the lower part of Tokiko's body has been cropped out of the portrait, eliminating the all-meaningful props with which she had originally posed. The members of the Rikkyō Society would not have had the means to enlarge the original photograph and to read the suggestive words of the vessel-poem, so this is not a case of deliberate censorship. It is, however, a telling representation of their approach to the issue of Tokiko's engagement with the heavens: by editing the picture, they cleared the stage of any ghost while still presenting Tokiko as a woman of letters, poised and "rational" as the age demanded. (The comet is mentioned in the text, but it is simply one of the elements that precipitated her decision to step out of the household, not part of a comprehensive and continuous engagement with the heavens.)

The fact that her identity as an oracle would be dismissed is not particularly surprising at this point and does not require further elaboration. More intriguing, however, is another silence, one that speaks volumes about local preoccupations with establishing an unblemished—in fact, a perfectly glorious—legacy for the hometown heroine. After Tokiko's political awakening, the story fades out as her mother blesses her decision to go to Kyoto and fades back in with Tokiko's arrival at the imperial capital. Details of the journey as well as references to the encounters with Keien and Koresada are absent. The reader is left with the impression that Tokiko not only pulled off this mission entirely on her own, but also may in fact have walked straight into the court and delivered the petition directly into the hands of the emperor. The authors of "A Short Narrative" dare not say such a thing, of course, but they do not seem preoccupied with denying it either. This silence enables them to suggest the story of a success simply by not telling the story of what was, all things considered, a failure. To this extent, other Mito apologists in the 1930s portrayed Tokiko's mission as a triumph in no uncertain terms. In his 1935 compendium on the lives of great loyalists, Andō Tokuki, the grandson of Tengu member Andō Hikonoshin, describes the petition entering the imperial court by way of Higashibōjō and reaching the hands of the emperor; having made her dream come true, he adds, Tokiko was so overjoyed that she proclaimed: "A woman's will-power can make its way through rock." "The heroine from Mito," one of only two women mentioned in Andō's work,[8] is extolled for "making her name known inside the halls of the imperial court" despite being a "coarse country woman" of "humble origins." Andō is mum, unsurprisingly, on her activities as a diviner.[9]

The ideologues of the Rikkyō Society deployed another creative strategy to add luster to their story: they envisioned otherwise nonexistent connections between Tokiko and the brightest stars of the loyalist firmament. Let us return to the opening segment of "A Short Narrative," the one that sets the stage for Tokiko's political awakening. In venting her outrage, it turns out, Tokiko was not alone. In the final days of the Tokugawa, loyalists and patriots everywhere raised their voices as representatives of "the realm's public opinion." Among them were Fujita Tōko, Sakuma Shōzan, and Yoshida Shōin—known collectively, the texts explains, as the three heroes of the late Tokugawa. Women too became indignant; some "offered men valiant help" and some succeeded at "heroic actions not even men could pull off." In this especially exclusive group we find not only Kurosawa Rikkyō but also Muraoka no Tsubone and Nomura Bōtō, the "three heroic female writers" of the time. With almost geometrical precision the text propels Tokiko into the empyrean of loyalist glory, first by including her in the perfect triangle of female loyalism, then by superimposing said triangle to the one formed by the three great male heroes of the late Tokugawa, and finally by suggesting that the two shapes are mirror images of each other.[10] Little did it matter that Tokiko never actually worked side by side with these historical figures; what mattered was that theoretically, ideologically, she could have, that, *geometrically,* she fit right in. As we will see below, these creative efforts did not stop at linking Tokiko with illustrious figures of her day and age, but also entailed the forging of connections that transcended the barriers of time.

Tatebayashi's biography of Tokiko, published in 1937 by the Rikkyō Society, repeats many of the points emphasized in the pamphlet, with one important exception: where the pamphlet had to be succinct, the biography could elaborate. And elaborate it did, modernizing a Tokugawa-era woman with clever narrative techniques, with calculated appeals to scientific discourse, and with reinterpretations so creative that even a liability turned into an asset.

First, almost each section in the book opens not with an episode in Tokiko's life but with the larger historical picture, generally in the form of a paragraph applauding an allegedly distinctive Japanese quality or talent—either modern or timeless—or simply "Japaneseness" in and of itself. After establishing such a quality, Tatebayashi zooms in on the small scale, showing how "our Rikkyō" embodied it to perfection. The section on her years as a poet in training, for example, begins with the following statement: "Among all the poetic formats in the world, haiku, for its structure and content, has possibly no equal. . . . It would not be an exaggeration to call it the pinnacle of all literary forms known to mankind. . . . Aside from us Japanese, no other peoples possess the ability to appreciate the poetic flavor of haiku."[11] Only at this point does

the narrative switch to Tokiko and to her rigorous training. By praising her talents within a larger historical or cultural frame, one that would have resonated with his 1937 readers, Tatebayashi keeps Tokiko's figure relevant even in the face of changing times. (Writing in the year when open war with China broke out, Tatebayashi treads lightly when dealing with Tokiko's study of Chinese poetry, specifying that "the Japanese are not at all like the Chinamen" and that the Chinese emperors are nothing like the emperors of "our land of the gods, Japan.")[12]

Second, in Tatebayashi's biography the modernization of Kurosawa Tokiko (and, by extension, of Mito loyalism) reaches a new high by combining historical narrative with up-to-date and unassailable scientific principles. In the same way as red flowers always produce red flowers, Tatebayashi explains, so loyalist blood always produces loyalist blood. "To put it in modern scientific terms," he continues, Tokiko's loyalist spirit was "a hereditary trait" (*shu no iden*).[13] (Tatebayashi had paid particular attention to the line of the petitionary poem that alluded to a blood connection with the Fujiwara; see chapter 4.) Tatebayashi was, of course, no geneticist, and his attempt to offer an explanation for Tokiko's loyalism by way of scientific theories comes off more as a poetic—and a bit awkward—move than as a rigorous elucidation. His idea to marry science and historical biography, however, is telling, for it shows how concepts of racial purity and eugenic superiority sustained not only the state's discourse on civilization, general calls for national pride, and comprehensive colonization policies but also small-scale regional memory projects.

Genetics and eugenics had, by the 1930s, established themselves as relevant fields in the Japanese scientific community as well as in nationalistic rhetoric with the foundation of the Greater Japan Eugenics Society (Dai Nihon Yūseikai) in 1917 and the publication of the journal *Eugenics* (*Yūseigaku*) beginning in 1924.[14] Only three years after Tatebayashi wrote of Tokiko's devotion to the emperor as an inherited trait, Japan would pass the National Eugenics Law (Kokumin Yūseihō, March 1940), which legalized attempts to perfect the quality of the population by sterilizing the sickly and unfit while encouraging the reproduction of healthy citizens.[15] At around the same time the Japan Hygiene Association (Nihon Eisei Kyōkai), after studying the effects of miscegenation, had concluded—unsurprisingly—that it should be avoided at all costs.[16] The times were more than ripe, in short, for the Rikkyō of old, and by extension for Mito in general, to be represented as genetically fit for the modern age. Like the blood flowing through her and her ancestors' veins, she herself could, indeed, generate loyalist sentiments for generations to come, if not by actual biological reproduction at least by everlasting inspirational example.

Faced with potentially problematic aspects of Tokiko's life—namely her flirtations with the comet (and, to a lesser extent, her encounter with the ghost

of Michizane)—Tatebayashi cleverly deflects the issues in a host of creative ways, from minimizing them, to representing them as assets, to simply ignoring them. The section dedicated to Tokiko's reading of the celestial body concedes that modern science does not think of comets as omens, but also reminds the readers that up until the Meiji period celestial phenomena were always read as symbols due in large part to the influence of Chinese culture. Lest one ascribe celestial prognostication to an inherently "Asian" penchant for superstition, however, Tatebayashi adds that reading the skies in search for clues was a practice common in both the East and West: when Jesus was born, he writes, a shooting star appeared to warn King Herod. Further to absolve Tokiko, Tatebayashi points out that even in his own day and age stars commanded attention, for example at the time of festivals.[17] Such association with a recreational activity enables Tatebayashi to minimize the link to superstition and to present celestial readings as a form of harmless entertainment, much in the same way that Meiji-era *kokkuri* games had tamed divination.

Doubling the effort to deflect potential charges of irrationality, Tatebayashi turns a liability into an asset by minimizing any concern with Tokiko's reading of the comet and emphasizing her reaction thereto:

> Despite being a woman, she resolved to spare the realm any grief [by denouncing the corrupt ways of Ii Naosuke]. Such is the soul of the true Japanese. Men and women, young and old, all share this spirit, it is the first thing that enables us to call a Japanese a Japanese. Unlike modern women, who pursue empty, superficial fads, [Tokiko] could not be unaffected by the appearance of the comet.

If Tokiko ever read a comet, it was not because she was gullible or backward but because she was, in fact, so forward thinking that she had already "developed a mature sense of national self-awareness as a Japanese."[18] Mito, here, comes out ahead of the curve in terms of patriotic sentiment, as even the suspiciously superstitious is turned around and transformed into an example of (Shōwa-era) nationalistic zeal on the part of Tokiko. Hers is not an act of divination but, in fact, one of dedication, one that ought to teach a moral lesson to all Japanese women. Satisfied with his repackaging of the comet issue, Tatebayashi chooses to be silent on the story of Michizane's ghost—his Tokiko is a woman of refined intellect and inner strength, and he leaves it at that.

Tatebayashi and the members of his society realized that the ultimate way to ensure that Tokiko's story be told in perpetuity was, literally, to cast it in stone. As Michael Wert reminds us, when it comes to commemoration, "written words are not enough. The success of any memory project requires mate-

Figure 10.2. Ceremony for the unveiling of the stone monument commemorating the thirtieth anniversary of the conferral of posthumous court rank to Tokiko; Suzugoya, February 22, 1937. Kurosawa Minesaburō sits in the front row, second from the left, next to a Shinto priest in ceremonial attire. The first man to the front right, standing, is Tatebayashi Miyatarō. *Courtesy of Ōsawa Toshio, Kurosawa Tokiko Kenshōkai.*

rial elements that impact the senses and provoke emotions to support written discourse."[19] In 1937, on the thirtieth anniversary of the bestowal of Tokiko's court rank, the society erected a commemorative monument (figure 10.2) near her native home.[20]

The unveiling, which took place on February 22, was a major affair involving prominent Mito figures. Tatebayashi, of course, was in attendance, and so was Tokiko's great-grandson, Minesaburō.[21] Congratulatory poems and speeches came courtesy not only of army colonel and Rikkyō Society president Sakamoto Sakyō but also of an Iwabune village assemblyman, of the Iwabune Elementary School principal, and of the director of the Ibaraki Prefecture Education Board, among others.[22] The inscription on the stone bears the names of House of Peers member Tokugawa Kuniyuki (of the Mito branch), of former Mito samurai turned House of Peers member Murota Yoshiaya (who composed the dedication), and of Sakamoto Sakyō (who wrote it). It reads, in part,

> Thirty years after the emperor's favor extended to the late [Rikkyō], a group of volunteers has decided to erect this monument to

> commemorate such imperial favor and to tell the story of her unswerving loyalty in perpetuity.

The rest of the inscription gives an account of Tokiko's life, briefly but with no glaring omissions: her father's connections to Shugendō, her education, her marriage, her job as a teacher, her period of political activism, but also her important achievements beyond the Restoration—her appointment as elementary school teacher in 1872, the 1875 grant, and of course the posthumous conferral of Junior Fifth Rank.

Like the pamphlet, the inscription places Tokiko in the midst of circles she had never known. After her arrest, for example, "she was locked up in jail with Yoshida Shōin and Fujimori Kōan." Associating her with Shōin and Kōan was not a distortion, for indeed both loyalists had been imprisoned in Tenmachō at the same time. Serving time under the same roof, however, does not imply familiarity, and none, frankly, is suggested here. Still, as with the pamphlet, the simple dropping of these names helped aggrandize Tokiko's standing in the annals of loyalist history while firmly reasserting Mito's centrality in the broad narrative of the Restoration.

The creative expansion of Tokiko's circles did not end with the heroes of her day and age but came to include celebrities of the present, namely former minister Tanaka Mitsuaki. Tanaka had served in the Imperial Household Agency at the time Tokiko had received her rank, and his name appears on the bestowal notification. In preparation for the unveiling ceremony, Tatebayashi sent Tanaka an invitation to attend. His presence would not only have added luster and gravitas to the event (turning it from local to national), but would also have symbolized the completion of a decades-long effort to commemorate and glorify Tokiko's story, starting with the conferral of rank in 1907 and ending with the 1937 monument that would forever cast her actions in stone. Tanaka, however, was old and ailing. When the invitation arrived, he was too frail even to reply; after much delay he asked an assistant to compose a letter in his stead. Dated February 26, 1937, the five-page letter addresses Tatebayashi as "Society Director." In it, the assistant explains that his "master" "rejoices and truly congratulates you on the celebration and unveiling of the memorial stone commemorating the bestowal of rank upon Kurosawa Tokiko," but regrets not being able to attend due to health issues. The letter also acknowledges the receipt of a print of the monument: "It is truly splendid. No doubt [Rikkyō] herself would have been satisfied and pleased."[23] Although they were unable to secure his participation, the members of the Rikkyō Society must have been pleased with Tanaka's belated response and with his words of praise for their work. Tanaka was a former Tosa loyalist who had ascended to prestigious posts

in the Meiji administration; as Michael Wert reminds us, in the Meiji period Tanaka had been responsible for selecting nearly 60 percent of all rank recipients (always giving a "preferential treatment" to the Tosa activists).[24] By having him in the picture, so to speak, the Rikkyō Society's ideologues were able symbolically to draw another circle, one that, connecting Mito to Tosa and past to present, placed Tokiko's story within an extended region of loyalist sentiment that stretched across space as much as it did across time.

In the spring of 2007, seventy years after the unveiling ceremony, the monument still stood, tucked in the woods on a hillside near Tokiko's native home, quietly telling not one story, but two. The first was the tale of one woman's efforts to leave a mark on the path of history; the second, the story of people she had (for the most part) never known who were determined to help her succeed by building her an altar that would withstand the test of time. Five years later, in 2012, a third story was inscribed onto the monument: hidden by overgrown weeds, the path to it no longer accessible, the invisible monument (along with the decaying house) now told the story of how ephemeral most memory projects are; the story of how the ability to secure a permanent place in history is often at the mercy of natural, political, and economic forces; the story of how the repercussions of the Great East Japan Earthquake of March 2011, which damaged the house, drained financial resources, and halted the plans for a new effort at commemoration (see next chapter), reached far and wide, inviting the return of that historical amnesia Tokiko and her hagiographers had so much feared; the story, in short, of the inexorable passing of time and of the futility of human efforts to stop it.

11 ✻ Encores

New Scripts

The past is not the exclusive domain of historians and ideologues. Novelists and cinematographers, among others, poach in the preserve of history, if not in the name of accuracy, in the name of action; if not for study, for spectacle; if not to educate, to entertain. The cuts and angles they select, the filters they deploy, the poetic and creative licenses they invoke make for good stories, not necessarily for rigorous history. Though beyond the scope of this study, it is worth mentioning briefly that creative renditions of Tokiko's saga did not end with the conclusion of the wartime years but continued in the postwar period, when they materialized, among other things, in the form of a historical novel and a film project. Tokiko's was, after all, both an action-packed and an inspirational story—one with great potential to command attention; however, as the historical circumstances changed, so did the reasons why Tokiko was brought back into the limelight. No longer needed as a paragon of patriotic zeal, her encores now provided diversion or served as examples of social responsibility. What did not change was the creative editing to which her story was subject. In the new scripts of the postwar and contemporary eras, Tokiko's story is either sensationalized with captivating yet implausible details or reduced to a single message of hope. Be it by omission or alteration, historical accuracy continues to elude the story of Kurosawa Tokiko.

FINALLY CHANGING THE COURSE OF HISTORY

One of the strangest postwar reconfigurations of Tokiko's story appeared in the pages of a romanticized historical novel, Funabashi Seiichi's *A Flower's Life* (*Hana no shōgai,* 1952–1953; later selected to become NHK's first televised historical fiction series, or *taiga drama,* in 1963).[1] The flower in question is not Tokiko; the novel centers on the figure of Minister Ii Naosuke, who blossomed and was cut down at the height of his prime. Tokiko, in this work, is cast in the role of an extra, albeit an intriguing and (as she would have liked) a pivotal one.

A Tokyoite by birth, Funabashi (1904–1976) may have become acquainted with Tokiko during his stint in Mito (1922–1925), where he had transferred to attend high school.[2] (In 1923 he even visited Ōarai, where Tokiko had entered into a symbolic dialogue with Tokugawa Nariaki shortly before her 1859 mission; see chapter 3.)[3] Whatever version of Tokiko's story Funabashi heard during his Mito years, however, may not have been sufficiently romanticized for the task at hand—further embellishment was in order. In *A Flower's Life* Funabashi thus portrays Tokiko as a female daredevil and a spy; more importantly, he turns her into the single "historical" character responsible for the success of the attack on Ii at Sakurada Gate. For the first time since her "real" arrest in 1859, Tokiko gets to play the part of the villain.

Tokiko makes her appearance relatively late in the story.[4] She does so not as an actual physical presence but as a mounting yet invisible threat. The year is 1860. Caught in the aftermath of the Ansei Purges, an exhausted but still upbeat Ii converses with his concubine, Riwa (Nishimura Sato). It has come to his attention that a spy from Mito has infiltrated his house.

> Ii: A secret missive from [staff officer Nagano] Shuzen[5] notified me that a woman named Kurosawa Tokiko, the widow of a certain Kamoshida, a Mito samurai, entered my residence in the guise of a servant. Is anyone aware of this woman in the lower mansion?
> Riwa: This is the first time I hear of it, but just to be sure I will investigate the matter further.

Tokiko indeed has successfully made her way into Ii's residence in the guise of a servant named Tsurue.[6] Nagano Shuzen discovers the plot and informs Ii that Tsurue could indeed be "that woman from Mito."

> Nagano: She is not an ordinary person. She did not have any particular Mito accent . . . but in my opinion there is not a shadow of a doubt [as to who she is].
> Ii: Shall we investigate her identity?

Ii Naosuke's question offers Funabashi the opportunity to introduce the historical character in some depth, which he does with a relative degree of accuracy. What is, then, Tokiko's (Tsurue's) identity?

> Nagano: She is the daughter of Kurosawa Tachū, a Shugendō priest from the Hōjuin in Suzugoya village, Ibaraki district. I believe she is the same Tokiko who is the widow of a certain Kamoshida, who lived in Kojima

> village, in Kuji district. Last year [1859], in the second month, she left Mito and, in the company of a fellow villager, Koibuchi Jihei, she sneaked from Kasama to Oyama, then passed through Sano and stopped in Kusatsu. She then crossed Shibu Pass, went past Shinano and Mino, followed the Ōmi Road, and at the end of the third month arrived in the capital [Kyoto]. She intended to carry out a plot involving the court and the government, something I have been able to confirm in detail thanks to the reports from Kyoto. She was sent to Edo but since then we have lost her—the investigators are at a loss. That is the woman.[7]

This summary of Tokiko's life is by and large accurate (the earlier attribution of samurai status to her husband is omitted). Where Funabashi departs more prominently from the historical record is in his placing Tokiko in the Ii mansion: after her banishment, the Tokiko of *A Flower's Life* does not return to Suzugoya to resume her teaching career but instead stages a comeback in Edo. Whereas historical circumstances (namely her banishment) had written the "actual" Tokiko out of the story playing out in Edo, Funabashi's poetic license places her right back at the center of the stage. More than that, it transforms her into a game-changer, a veritable deus ex machina.

Following the conversation with Ii, Nagano returns to his room to find out that important papers have been stolen. He immediately knows whom to blame: "That woman . . ."[8] It is here that Tokiko is fully transmogrified into "the woman spy from Mito" (*Mito no onna kanja*). Her transformation signals a change in the pace of the narration; tensions heighten as her reinvented character emerges as a tangible threat. Up until this point she had loomed as a menacing yet indistinct presence, her fictional persona infusing the storyline with tension in the fuzzy way of the "is she, is she not?" kind. With Tokiko's disappearance from Ii's house and the theft of the documents, however, all doubts dissipate, and the threat becomes real.

Why did Funabashi need to reconfigure Tokiko's actions to such a creative extent? Funabashi held a degree in literature from Tokyo Imperial University and had a demonstrated interest in history (*A Flower's Life* was not his only period piece); at the time he published this novel he was forty-eight and already an established author. His, in other words, was not a rookie mistake. As with the alterations to Tokiko's story (and image) in the 1938 issue of *The Housewife's Companion* (see chapter 9), one explanation for Funabashi's creative editing has to do with the audience for whom he wrote. (A second explanation, which I will discuss below, is found in the historical moment in which he wrote.) Funabashi wrote *A Flower's Life* for readers who already knew how the story of Ii Naosuke would play out. This posed a problem: there is no enter-

tainment value in predictability. Tokiko's feat of espionage, thus, adds an element of surprise to a well-known story by foregoing accuracy in favor of amazement. From here on out, Funabashi's readers, already privy to the ultimate fate of the title character, start seeing the unfolding of the events that will lead to Ii's assassination from an entirely new—because largely made-up—angle. They are hooked.

The new and improved story reads as follows: on 1860/3/2, one day before the attack on Ii at Sakurada Gate, the loyalists gather at a Shinagawa brothel to finalize their plan. One of them reports: "Kurosawa Tokiko, a truly exceptional person, and a woman at that [*josei no mi de arinagara*], gained access to the Ii residence and stole important documents." The documents attest to Ii's ownership of triple-barreled guns, a revelation that forces the warriors to reconsider their intention to attack him only with swords. The 1950s readers are here treated to a "behind the scenes" view of one of the most infamous assassinations in Japanese history, a view that is as captivating as it is farfetched. Had it not been for Tokiko's intervention, the story implies, the loyalists would have been ill prepared to face Ii's firepower, and the minister might have survived the ambush. Unconcerned with strict historical accuracy, Funabashi uses "the woman spy from Mito" to add unexpected pizzazz to a foregone conclusion, intriguing his readers with possibilities that found no match in the historical record but were the narrative equivalent of dynamite. In rewriting the script, Funabashi achieved what no other biographer or apologist, much less Tokiko herself, had done before: at long last, he enabled Tokiko to change the course of history.

In her second cameo Tokiko enhances the entertainment value of Funabashi's work by blurring the boundaries of gender. The words of the loyalist at the Shinagawa brothel ("and a woman at that") had already anticipated the idea that Funabashi's Tokiko defies all gendered expectations. In the second cameo Funabashi expands on this notion. The scene takes place on Hakone Pass, where several travelers are marooned due to heavy snow. Among them we find Nagano Shuzen's mistress, Takajo, as well as Tokiko, now a prisoner in a cage. The episode is reminiscent of her 1859 journey along the Tōkaidō after her arrest, but the similarities, and with them the accuracy, end here. Tokiko, we learn, had been arrested in Fushimi a few days earlier; Nagano's documents were recovered, establishing once and for all her responsibility for the theft—or, for the modern readers, establishing her merit for the success of the (soon-to-unfold) ambush on Ii. Caged on Hakone Pass, Tokiko is suffering from frostbite, yet she does not utter a word when a nurturing Takajo rubs ointment on her hands. "Since leaving Kyoto," we are told, "she has yet to speak a single word." Although death looms ("stealing documents is not a light crime. There

is no avoiding crucifixion, after being paraded about"),[9] Tokiko remains poised and inscrutable. Following her arrest she had been subject to the "lobster" torture (a form of bondage) but, despite the pain, she did not confess. The most erudite among Funabashi's readers may have known that, in the Tokugawa period, the lobster method was employed only after less severe forms of torture had failed,[10] indicating therefore that Tokiko had suffered not one but many forms of torture at that point. Her ability to withstand all manners of physical suffering suggests a degree of strength rarely associated with women—hers is not just toughness, but virtual manliness. For readers less familiar with the intricacies of Tokugawa-era punishment, the simple mention of torture would have sufficed to paint a clear picture—this was an extraordinary woman indeed.

Tokiko's gender-defying feats continue in her third and final cameo. As the story unfolds, Tokiko and Takajo meet again, this time at Sanjō Bridge in Kyoto. Here Tokiko and three masterless samurai kidnap Nagano's mistress. Tokiko, whom we had last encountered as a prisoner, informs Takajo (and the readers) that she had been released from custody around the time of Ii's assassination, "otherwise on that very same day . . . my head would have been sent flying." She wants Takajo to reveal the whereabouts of Nagano Shuzen, her next target. When Takajo professes ignorance, Tokiko's voice becomes "increasingly stern and louder"; she slaps Takajo and proceeds to torture her. For three days and three nights Takajo suffers all manners of "unreasonable punishments" at the hands of Tokiko, who ruthlessly prods her: "Still you won't confess. Maybe tomorrow we will subject you to the 'box' torture."[11] This is a callous and merciless Tokiko, not one that interwar apologists would have approved of, but one that postwar readers looking for diversion—not indoctrination—would have found irresistible.

As an extra in a work of fiction focused on Ii Naosuke and his immediate entourage, Tokiko's main function was to dramatize the well-known events surrounding the minister's death. She did so by adding mystery, suspense, and unexpected twists and turns not only to the basic historical narrative, but also to the otherwise conventional characterization of gender roles. Tokiko, in *A Flower's Life,* is a crossbreed of feminine and masculine traits. It is suggested, for example, that she was the lover of Koibuchi Jihei, Suzugoya's village head with whom the "real" Tokiko had spent some time on the road to Kyoto. At the same time, however, she is also "manly" (*otokomasari*) and capable of feats of endurance and cruelty only men could conceive. Shrewd yet no stranger to romance, Tokiko is a "female daredevil" (*daitan futekina onna*).[12]

Tokiko's characterization as a daredevil calls to mind the early-Meiji biographies of "poison women"—most infamously represented by seductress,

robber, and murderer Takahashi Oden—whose irresistible allure was matched only by their sinister intents. In 1879, for example, writer Kanagaki Robun had described Oden as a she-devil, a protean character whose actions required, as Mark Silver puts it, "masquerade and self-refashioning." Poison women, adds Silver, were the byproduct of an era when the erasure of the old status system had engendered anxieties about social mobility and the crime it may incite.[13] This brings us to the second reason behind Funabashi's creative admixture of fact and fiction in the portrayal of Tokiko: the historical moment.

In the immediate postwar years the Occupation forces controlled the media, inked out textbooks, and even micromanaged the production of historical fiction—for example, by forbidding tales of samurai loyalty and by banning kabuki performances of the saga of the forty-seven *rōnin*.[14] By 1952, however, the Occupation was over and the thirst (or simply nostalgia) for good old tales of samurai vendettas had returned, allowing for the publication of works like *A Flower's Life*. With the demise of the "good wife, wise mother" rhetoric (now a thing of the militaristic past),[15] Kurosawa Tokiko could come back in the guise of a gender-defying character not seen since the days of the modern girl (*moga*) in the 1920s.

As with the poison women of the Meiji era, Funabashi's Tokiko also reflected the uneasiness engendered by a new historical juncture. First, the hawkish Tokiko exemplified the discomfort about the recent militaristic past that defined the immediate postwar era, a time when the Restoration losers were being rehabilitated and the Mito loyalists vilified as "ultranationalist" fanatics.[16] (Not coincidentally, Ii Naosuke describes Tokiko as the wife of a Mito samurai.) Second, her gender ambiguity projected anxieties about the present—a time when women were enjoying freedoms either long revoked or never before attained.[17] Third, her protean character embodied (and perhaps exorcised) the uncertainties of the future—the reconstruction and the lingering fears of the unexpected in the atomic age. To this extent it is worth pointing out that her story, in *A Flower's Life,* is truncated, a non-sequitur of sorts: the reader never knows her fate after the Kyoto encounter with Takajo. Likewise, in the early 1950s the fate of the country may have appeared to many as a road forking off in several possible directions—some rewarding, some terrifying, all equally uncertain.[18] In this respect the Tokiko of Funabashi Seiichi reflects a defanged, demilitarized, post-female suffrage, pre-economic recovery Japan beset by emerging Cold War anxieties—a country whose citizens paused to enjoy, at long last, the deeds of swashbuckling heroes and gender-bending heroines while waiting for the next chapter in their own history to be written.

NOSTALGIC NODS TO A PAST THAT WASN'T

The adventures of Tokiko in popular culture seemed destined to continue in the fall of 2009, when a Japanese production company, S-Cube, expressed interest in releasing a film about her life. On January 1, 2010, *Ibaraki shinbun* broke the news in an article featuring enthusiastic comments from local supporters, a photo of the director and other production members as they scouted the location in Shirosato (formerly Suzugoya), and an insert with a brief biography of Tokiko and her portrait (a cropped version of the 1889 photograph).[19]

Apparently uninterested in her political activism or in her conversations with the cosmic forces, the producers decided instead to focus on her work as a teacher. Whereas the shady Tokiko of *A Flower's Life* had not returned to her classroom, her 2009 reincarnation would be the epitome of the dedicated educator, an absolute positive. The newspaper article, titled "Kurosawa Tokiko: The Making of a Movie," bears the subtitle "From Shirosato, Japan's First Female Teacher." Director Kubota Shōji (b. 1974), interviewed in the piece, explained: "I came across Kurosawa Tokiko because I love the late-Tokugawa era. She was such an exceptional person, and yet she is not well known, not even in [her own] Ibaraki Prefecture. When it comes to the state of education, what is important in the formation of an individual? I could speak to this point using the life of Tokiko, who lived amidst the chaos of the late Tokugawa." The article adds: "From within the prefecture already more than 2,500 people, especially educators, have voiced their intention to help [with the project]." Indeed an unspecified source is cited as saying, "This could be a great opportunity to reconsider the true meaning of education. Moreover, the movement to preserve her native home has been revitalized." Further to underscore the angle that the film would be taking, a pre-production draft compiled in November 2009 listed as a tentative title for the film *Learn More* (*Motto manabinasai*) and as a possible subtitle *The Life of Kurosawa Tokiko from Ibaraki, Japan's First Female Teacher.*[20]

In the absence of a full script, it is difficult to speculate about true meanings and real intentions, though nostalgia for purportedly simpler times and simpler values seems to infuse the director's comments. In an age of unemployment (the rate reached an all-time postwar high in July 2009),[21] precarious jobs with little to no benefits or prospect of promotion, educational reforms that have hurt low-income students, and empty fads hyped by consumerism, Kubota's words imply that old-style education can offer much-needed direction and substance.[22] More than that, it can reestablish a type of human connection that has been lost in the modern shuffle. In this respect the film—whose director would have come of age precisely around the time of the economic "bubble burst" of the early 1990s—seems to have been conceived as part of the

larger trend to idealize the past (not necessarily of the late-Tokugawa kind) as an antidote to the hopelessness of the present.[23]

As any historian knows, nostalgia requires selective amnesia. The *Ibaraki shinbun* article makes but minor concessions to Tokiko's political persona: born in the last century of the Tokugawa period, Tokiko "lived a life of ups and downs." "At age fifty-four she resolved to appeal to the imperial court [to proclaim] the innocence of Mito domain lord Tokugawa Nariaki, who had been ordered into house arrest in the course of the Ansei Purges, and traveled to Kyoto by herself." At this point, however, the text fast-forwards to the Meiji period and to her work as an educator. There is no mention of what one would have thought of as "made for the big screen" moments: the comet, the arrest, the banishment, or her divination sessions. (One would expect greater interest for her activities as a diviner, especially in the context of a New Age curiosity for fortunetellers and spiritual guides.[24] That this is not the case may be attributable to the "overwhelmingly negative" light in which people have come to see practices pertaining to "cults" since Aum Shinrikyō launched the sarin gas attacks on the Tokyo subway in 1995.[25]) Rather, the piece focuses squarely on two main aspects of Tokiko's life and personality: her education on one side and her strength of character, especially her self-reliance, determination, and independence, on the other. One hundred and twenty years after her death, against a historical background she would have neither recognized nor understood, Tokiko continued to serve as a model and as a source of inspiration, this time for the socially conscious: "in this day and age during which one may argue that education is wasting away," reads the pre-production draft, "we cannot help but notice that [her story] is being forgotten. Let us inquire, once again, about the importance of learning."

Learn More ran into financial roadblocks, not the least of which was due to the crisis precipitated by the Great East Japan Earthquake of 2011, and has yet to come to fruition. However, the excitement it generated at the time, especially in Mito, still serves as a good endpoint for Tokiko's journey in historical memory. Against all odds, the unassuming sparrow of the late Tokugawa period has managed to fly through storms for more than a century, disappearing and then resurfacing across time and space, reconfigured as fierce hawk, gentle dove, or indomitable phoenix. A life defined by the crisis of the late Tokugawa and by the uncertainties of the Meiji transition has, over time, come to reflect principles, ideas, and anxieties never known to the original historical character: the modern patriot, commendable citizen, paragon of frugality, domestic diva, androgynous spy, or exemplary educator serving as a mirror of local agendas, of prevailing ideologies, and sometimes even of the gyrations of the market. This is not, hopefully, the final stretch in the sparrow's centuries-long flight.

If this work inspires further research into, or even just a bit of curiosity about the many roles and scripts of Kurosawa Tokiko, the place of women and the non-elites in the Restoration movement, the intermingling of prophecy and politics, or the many forms of female political activism around the world, then perhaps there is a chance that, as Gunji Atsunobu and Tatebayashi Miyatarō had hoped, her story may be told and retold "in perpetuity."

Conclusion
The Doing That Matters

Kurosawa Tokiko was right when she likened herself to a "speck of dust in the wind" and her actions to "one drop in the ocean, one hair out of nine cows," for none of what she did changed the course of history. We do not know whether the petitionary poem ever reached the hands of the emperor, but even if it did, it failed to spare Tokugawa Nariaki the indignity of house arrest: he died in 1860 while still serving his sentence.

Efforts have been made, to be sure, to cast Tokiko in a more influential role than the one she likely played. Unsurprisingly, most of these efforts came out of Mito. In a 1981 article published locally, for example, Koibuchi Takeo listed the names of thirty-seven men from Suzugoya who partook in the so-called Kinmon Incident, a battle near the imperial court in Kyoto in the summer of 1864. Koibuchi attributes these men's drive not only to the pervasiveness of loyalist thought in Mito, but also to the thirst for vindication spurred by the arrest and banishment of Kurosawa Tokiko five years earlier.[1] As chapter 10 elucidated, moreover, there have also been attempts to reshape Tokiko's circles and retroactively claim for her greater glory by association.

At the same time, for one who was a self-professed nobody, Tokiko had unquestionably forged personal ties with established loyalists and knew many of the men who would be later commemorated as prominent Mito loyalists. Koibuchi, for example, reminds us that among the twelve Suzugoya loyalists who died at the time of the Restoration and whose names are listed on a commemorative stone monument at Keiganji in the Mito valley, at least two, Eyama Shinzō Norimitsu and Mimura Tahei Motosada, had personally met Tokiko. In 1859, at the time of her sentencing, they were summoned to Edo in their capacity as village administrators.[2] More to the point, Tokiko knew, and had spent time on the road with, her own village head, Koibuchi Jihei, who had been an active participant in the Nariaki exculpation movement since the 1840s.

Whether she was "famous" or "anonymous," whether her mission was a "success" or a "failure" is actually not the point. What matters is that Tokiko existed at the fringes of late-Tokugawa and early-Meiji history and, from that

angle, wrote about it. She wrote about turmoil and about her quest for order; she wrote about her gender and about her identities; she wrote about her friends and about her enemies, her circles and her networks, her past and her present. What are we to make now of her own life as she wrote it?

Let us start with what we should *not* make of it: a model. The goal of this work was not to present Tokiko's story as exemplary of the way in which women lived through the turmoil of the late Tokugawa, much in the same way as no monograph on Saigō Takamori, Sakamoto Ryōma, or Yoshida Shōin should ever claim to be a window into the way in which "men" experienced the Restoration. Tokiko, for one, was not the only woman to engage in political activism in the late Tokugawa period, nor was she the only commoner to do so. Other women in Mito supported, in one way or another, the activities of loyalist men; Anzō Ryōko, for example, mentions the role played by the wives of Tengu rebels during the 1864 civil war.[3] Even outside Mito, several mothers, wives, or mistresses of loyalist men helped them behind the scenes.[4] Tokiko commands our attention because, among other things, she produced an enduring paper trail, whereas many of these other women did not, or, if they did, it no longer exists. Their stories may have been just as relevant, but without documentary evidence, we can never reconstruct them.

Second, Tokiko is not a model because, to state the obvious, not all female political activists reasoned along the same lines or performed the same script. Some women, for example, sided with the Tokugawa and even went to war for them, as the case of Aizu domain's Women's Army (Jōshigun) illustrates.[5] Even those who sided with the loyalists did not always deploy the same tactics. As we have seen, Nomura Bōtō thought nothing of illness whereas Tokiko turned it into a platform to reiterate her role as pivotal figure in the process that would ultimately heal the body politic. Yanagawa Kōran used the hexagrams as examples of literary erudition, not as tools to extrapolate the immediate future. Matsuo Taseko thought and acted rationally; she would have abhorred Tokiko's flirtations with cosmic forces and ghosts. A fierce anti-Buddhist (she scorned all sites associated with Buddhism during her journey to Kyoto in 1862),[6] Taseko would have equally disapproved of Tokiko's acceptance of Buddhist principles and of her belief, here expressed poetically, that

Asa na yū na	The teachings of the Law
kokoro ni kakete	erase all of
kokodaku no	the sins
tsumi mo kieyuku	clinging to our hearts
nori no oshie wa	mornings and evenings.[7]

It is precisely because these female loyalists, while sharing the same basic ideas, acted them out in different ways that telling Tokiko's story is not redundant but in fact enriching.

Having established that Tokiko's story is meaningful neither for its results (arguably inconspicuous) nor for its "exemplary" value, I wish to turn now to the actual lessons we can draw from it. Tokiko's story, I contend, is worthy of notice for the route it followed and for the methods it deployed in order to place the ordinary individual within the purview of large-scale history. In a study of Indian subaltern classes and of their confrontations with the dominant discourse, Assa Doron and Ursula Rao emphasize that the ultimate result is not as important as the process itself. Involvement alone, they argue, "indicates dynamism and agency and may in some cases generate unpredictable results. Voices and performances of dissent carry the potential to arrest attention and seduce engagement. The *doing* harbours the possibility for transformation, however gradual and incremental."[8] In other words, it is the process that counts, for its very unfolding bespeaks historical opportunities hitherto unavailable and generates tensions hitherto unimagined. In the case of Tokiko, it is precisely "the doing" that matters. Whether she changed the course of history, whether she can serve as "case study" for "Restoration women," is irrelevant. The lessons learned here are of a different kind, and they are numerous.

From the perspective of gender, Tokiko's life story bespeaks fresh opportunities to voice and perform dissent but also great resistance thereto. It demonstrates that, even at a time of rupture in women's history, a time when more avenues opened for them, gender requirements were still being negotiated, for traditional roles and expectations of passivity were far from being forgotten, much less discarded.[9] This was as true in the late Tokugawa as it was in the first half of the twentieth century, when Tokiko's story was manipulated, censored, and creatively retold to offset specific fears about female autonomy while bolstering contemporary notions of female subordination and gendered patriotism. (In this respect, hers is also a case study in the fallacies of historical memory and commemoration and in the impossibility of preventing the anxieties, ideologies, and preoccupations of the present from coloring the understanding of the past.)

As a peculiar combination of no-nonsense focus and visionary flights of the imagination, Tokiko's plunge into big history nuances our understanding of political consciousness and activism among rural commoners and non-elites at the twilight of the Tokugawa era. It shows how both the rational and the cosmic and divine colored the political vocabulary of some loyalist sympathizers, reminding us that the two lexicons were not mutually exclusive. Tokiko's

upbringing in the Hōjuin had exposed her to the principles of Shugendō; her activities as a prognosticator had shown her the tangible benefits that came from being proficient in the language of the heavens. If one lesson was to be learned from her early life experiences, it was that abstract principles could and should be measured against reality; that humans benefited from their interactions with gods and spirits; that the heavens were not aloof but within reach, ready to offer help and guidance if consulted correctly. Tokiko was not acting disingenuously when she called on comets and ghosts: she was simply applying this lesson. To her, what we would call "the rational" and "the spiritual" were not irreconcilable opposites but in fact two sides of the same coin; she was a pragmatist with a background in mysticism, a ritual specialist bent on solving a practical dilemma. Her approach to problem-solving indicates that, far from being the sole preserve of hysterical peasants who interpreted the fall of amulets from the sky as heaven's invitation to run away to Ise Shrine,[10] or of frenzied townspeople chanting "ain't it great" (*eejanaika*) and looting the storehouses of wealthy merchants in the name of world renewal,[11] the signs and wonders of the cosmic forces and of the gods could also become part and parcel of a direct, focused, educated, and determined approach to activism.

More broadly, Tokiko's case also expands our understanding of the various forms of peasant resistance and dissent the world over—what James C. Scott has called the "weapons of the weak." In his seminal study, Scott examines indirect and often subtle challenges to the state on the part of Malaysian peasants in the 1970s. By deploying such tactics as foot dragging, false compliance, noncompliance, character assassination, slander, feigned ignorance, or sabotage—argues Scott—the peasantry acted to defend its interests.[12] Tokiko's foray into activism offers a different example of opposition to the state on the part of the non-elites. The tactics she used against the policies of the Tokugawa in 1859 did incorporate some of the traditional weapons of the weak—slander and character assassination, for sure, but also noncompliance (with the terms of her banishment, for example, or more broadly with established expectations related to her gender) and false compliance (intentionally filling out the guest log in Moriyama with false information, to name one). At the same time, Tokiko's "performance of dissent" was open and direct; so direct, in fact, that it took her all the way to Kyoto and resulted in her incarceration. Her actions, moreover, were not motivated by self-serving, localized interests, but, as she repeated throughout her writings, by the determination to restore health to the body politic of the realm writ large. More importantly, Tokiko contested the state and fought against the onset of chaos not only with the traditional weapons of the weak but also with an arsenal of cosmic ammunition and a small army of ghosts.

Her cosmology also teaches us a lesson in the manifold ways in which individuals constructed and negotiated their roles in late-Tokugawa society. Tokiko's world and Tokiko's heavens danced around each other, touching and connecting, intersecting and conversing; she was the pivot that made this dance possible, bringing the two spheres together by reading symbols and omens, by reciting incantations and prayers, by summoning visions and ghosts. The hexagrams with which she divined the fate of her fellow villagers taught her that the universe consisted of a series of permutations of high and low, big and small, strong and weak; they told her that opposites worked in tandem, not independently. Such a view of the cosmic order was not at all incompatible with the idea that even a base-born person could rise above her station in life. If anything, it encouraged such a notion, and in doing so, inspired Tokiko to play a role that was larger than life.

As an exercise in squaring large- and small-scale history, this study of the odyssey of Kurosawa Tokiko demonstrates the advantages of looking at large historical events from the peephole of microhistory. Such a perspective turns the spotlight away from the title characters and from the usual suspects and points it at the extras; it replaces bright marquees and oversized billboards with individual portraits; it muffles loud rumbles to give space to the voices in the background. The switch in focus brings out a picture of personal joys and sorrows that impacted the lives of people just as much as (if not more than) the large-scale historical events unfolding in the distance—a picture of preoccupations, priorities, and contingencies that were never completely detached from the main narrative, but were not entirely subordinated to it either. While most texts trumpet (for good reasons) the political revolution of 1868 as a key turning point, fewer investigate how the ordinary, unimportant individual reacted to change. Available evidence points at other key transitional moments in the constantly renewing life of Kurosawa Tokiko on both sides of the 1868 divide: the death of her husband, Hikozō, in the early 1830s; her taking over the family school in 1854; the encounter with Nakatsukasa in 1858; the end of her incarceration and her surreptitious return to Suzugoya in 1859; her transformation into an elementary school teacher in 1872; the bestowal of the land grant and the editing of her diaries in 1875; and her involvement with Ontakekyō in the 1880s. At each of these junctures Tokiko either made a fresh start or steered her life in a new direction. The story of a hairpin peddler and poet, a prognosticator and teacher, an activist and modern educator is, in its twists and turns, unusual enough to catch our attention and unique enough to reveal motivations, attitudes, and values that would otherwise have remained in the background, out of focus if not entirely out of sight.

By zooming in, we get a sense for the resourcefulness and creativity with which the single historical actor managed to navigate the turbulent waters of change. After completing her mission to restore order in the realm, Tokiko reoriented her priorities toward the local, deploying her expertise as an oracle to aid her fellow villagers during the 1864 civil war. When the world as she knew it came under attack and then crumbled to be replaced with unfamiliar reconfigurations, Tokiko had to find ways successfully to transition across two eras while preventing historical amnesia and preserving the old in the face of the new. She did so by adapting, by "going with the flow" (as she put it), and by reconceptualizing her roles: when the Meiji government introduced a national school system, she turned her classroom into an elementary school; after the same state eradicated the Shugendō tradition, she applied for a license to represent Ontakekyō. At the same time Tokiko strove not to erase the past; her transitions thus included transformation but also tenacious (if subtle) resistance to change. When she posed for her portrait in 1889, Tokiko looked into the camera, a modern object, knowing full well that next to her stood a symbolic vessel (the poem) capable of resurrecting ghosts of her world as it was in the 1850s. By way of visions, vessels, and verses, Tokiko negotiated the fall of the Tokugawa and the onset of Meiji modernity on her own terms.

Other microhistorians have spoken eloquently about the ways in which individuals transiting across different cultures or historical moments adjusted their identities to stay afloat: Natalie Zemon Davis in her study of the trickster al-Hasan al-Wazzan, for example, or Sanjay Subrahmanyam's portraits of Prince Meale, Anthony Sherley, and Nicolò Manuzzi.[13] That Tokiko should join such a cohort of border-crossers and cultural intermediaries may appear strange: she never left the confines of her country, after all, nor did she interact directly with foreign visitors. As a peasant woman from a rural village, her resources and connections were far more limited than those of such illustrious predecessors, many of whom spoke multiple languages, traveled on a global scale, and rubbed elbows with rulers. But Tokiko also crossed important thresholds (from her rural village to the imperial capital; from extra to center stage; from Tokugawa to Meiji), and, like al-Wazzan and Meale, like Sherley and Manuzzi, she too had to adjust, improvise, and use creative ways to stay true to herself in the face of change.

In the end, this work remains the story of a self-described speck of dust. However, as one of the primers from Tokiko's personal library proclaimed, "When it piles up, dust becomes a great mountain."[14] And so, maybe, will her story. That it may in fact end up collecting more dust in the shelves of libraries and bookstores is as ironic as it is poetic.

APPENDIX

Poems in honor of Sugawara no Michizane that Tokiko composed while incarcerated in 1859. When read in sequence, the first syllables of each poem spell out Kitano Tenman Daijizai Tenjingū, Michizane's title.

Ki-ta-no

Kimi ga tame	For my lord
harubaru kokoni	[I have come] this far
Kitano naru	to Kitano
kami ni chikai o	to make a vow
kakete inoramu	to its deity.
Tamaboko[1] *no*	Making my way
michi fumiwakete	along the jeweled spear road
kyō koso wa	today
kami no mimae ni	I have come
hikare kinikere	before the gods.
No no sue mo	At the edge of the fields
kami no mikaki mo	and by the gods' fence
oshinabete	the scent of plum [blossoms]
ume no nioi wa	was not
kawarazarikeri	much different.

Te-n-ma-n (Te-mu-ma-mu)

Tesusabi ni	Were I to pluck one for fun,
orabaya oramu	would it break?
kamigaki no	What are those flowers called
hana to iu wa nani	[that grow] on the shrine fence?
kokoro ukarete	Joy for the heart.

Murasame no It comes down through
kumo no taema o a break in the clouds
furiidete of a passing shower
na noru ya kami no and announces its name: a cuckoo
yama hototogisu from the peak of the gods.

Masukagami The pure shine
kiyoki hikari wa of the bright mirror:
iku chiyo mo before the gods
ya o yorozuyo no for ages,
kami no mimae ni eternally.

Musashino ni Parting the dew
shigeru yomogi no on the mugwort that grows lushly
tsuyu wakete in the Musashi Plain:
kumoue ni kayou divine guidance
kami no michibiki to the place above the clouds.

Da-i-ji-za-i (Ta-i-shi-sa-i)

Tama chihau People of Yamato,
kami no michi to te return to the past,
sunao naru when we followed
mukashi ni kaere the way of the gods
Yamato kunibito who gave us divine protection.

Inishie mo Far is the end
ima mo sakaeru of the Sugawara
Sugawara no god:
kami no misue no he flourishes now
sue zo tōtoki as he did then.

Shigarami to Let us get together,
narite todomeyo tight as a net,
kimigayo no making an oath to the gods
chiyo no tameshi o for the eternity
kami ni chikaite of our lord's reign.

Saranuda ni I am thinking,
omoi o komeshi this cannot be . . .
kamigaki ni The light of the fireflies
yo na yo na mo yuru burning each night
natsumushi no kage by the shrine fence.

Iku tose mo Over the years
iro wa kawaraji their color does not change:
kamigaki no the green pines
temoto ni shigeru lushly growing under
matsu no midori wa the shrine's fence.

Te-n-ji-n-gu-u (Te-mu-shi-mu-ku-u)

Terisukasu Along with
asahi no kage to the bright
morotomoni rays of the morning sun
kiyoki kokoro o the purifying water [at the shrine] reflects
utsusu mitarashi an untainted heart.

Murachidori Flock of plovers
kami no miyama ni descending
orihaete on the mountain of the gods
matsu ni yachiyo no cry their cry of thousands of years
ne o nomizo naku on the pine trees.

Shikishima no Oh spirit
yamatogokoro o of ancient Japan,
kami kakete by all means
migaku hikari wa let your bright radiance
yomo ni kagayake shine all around.

Musasabi to Were I to become
naritemo kami no a squirrel, I would still
miyashiro ni come
kimi ga tame ni ya to the shrine of the gods
yukikayoisemu for the sake of my lord.

Kumiwakete A mind like water
kami ya mamoramu streaming down
tamaboko no the jeweled-spear road:
michi o nagaruru be sympathetic
mizu no kokoro wa and the gods will protect you.

Ukikoto mo Even grief
ureshiki koto ni seems to turn
kawaru rashi into joy:
kakeshi chikai wa the vow I made
kami no mani mani is in the hands of the gods.

NOTES

KTS	*Kurosawa Tokiko shiryō,* Ibaraki Kenritsu Rekishikan, Mito
KKM	*Kurosawa-ke monjo,* Ibaraki University, Mito

INTRODUCTION

1. Marguerite Yourcenar, *That Mighty Sculptor, Time,* trans. Walter Kaiser (New York: The Noonday Press, 1993), 5.
2. J. Victor Koschmann, *The Mito Ideology: Discourse, Reform, and Insurrection in Late Tokugawa Japan, 1790–1864* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 1, 130, and 133.
3. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kyōto toraware no fumi* (KTS, MSS Nos. 2–3), I: 13 verso. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Shiki wakashū* (KTS, MS No. 19), 3 verso.
4. Anne Walthall, *The Weak Body of a Useless Woman: Matsuo Taseko and the Meiji Restoration* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); Tanigawa Kaeko, *Nomura Bōtō-ni: Hitosuji no michi o mamoraba* (Fukuoka: Karansha, 2011).
5. Although not a loyalist, another late-Tokugawa woman interested in politics, Tadano Makuzu, disdained metaphysical approaches, did not see any connection between the heavens and the world of men, and believed that cosmology was not the key to understanding the world. Bettina Gramlich-Oka, *Thinking Like a Man: Tadano Makuzu (1763–1825)* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 210–215 and 242–243.
6. H. J. J. M. van Straelen, *Yoshida Shōin, Forerunner of the Meiji Restoration; A Biographical Study* (Leiden: Brill, 1952); Marius B. Jansen, *Sakamoto Ryōma and the Meiji Restoration* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1961); Mark Ravina, *The Last Samurai: The Life and Battles of Saigō Takamori* (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2004); David Magarey Earl, *Emperor and Nation in Japan: Political Thinkers of the Tokugawa Period* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1981); Thomas C. Smith, *The Agrarian Origins of Modern Japan* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1959); Koschmann, *The Mito Ideology.*
7. Neil L. Waters, *Japan's Local Pragmatists: The Transition from Bakumatsu to Meiji in the Kawasaki Region* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983), 3.
8. H. D. Harootunian, *Toward Restoration: The Growth of Political Consciousness in Tokugawa Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970); Susan Burns,

Before the Nation: Kokugaku and the Imagining of Community in Early Modern Japan (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003); William W. Kelly, *Deference and Defiance in Nineteenth-Century Japan* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985); M. William Steele, *Alternative Narratives in Modern Japanese History* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2003); Gregory J. Smits, "Shaking Up Japan: Edo Society and the 1855 Catfish Picture Prints," *Journal of Social History* 39, no. 4 (Summer 2006): 1045–1077.

9. Koschmann, *The Mito Ideology,* 76 and 162–167. Specifically, Koschmann reads the trek to Nikkō as a pragmatic military exercise combined with a symbolic reappropriation of "the aura of original purity" surrounding Tokugawa Ieyasu's resting place.
10. Ravina, *The Last Samurai,* 115 and 128.
11. Haga Noboru, *Bakumatsu shishi no seikatsu* (Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 1982), 14–16. Yoshida Shōin chose the moniker *Nagato kyōme,* "the maniac from Nagato"; Yamagata Aritomo was also known as *Yamagata kyōkai,* "merely a maniac from Yamagata"; and Takasugi Shinsaku was nicknamed *Tōyō ikkyōsei,* "a life possessed in the East." See also Harootunian, *Toward Restoration,* 222.
12. Harootunian, *Toward Restoration,* 138 and 220–223.
13. Walthall, *The Weak Body of a Useless Woman,* 15.
14. Koschmann, *The Mito Ideology;* Tetsuo Najita and J. Victor Koschmann, *Conflict in Modern Japanese History: The Neglected Tradition* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982); Kelly, *Deference and Defiance.*
15. George M. Wilson, *Patriots and Redeemers in Japan: Motives in the Meiji Restoration* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 61 and 85.
16. Steele, *Alternative Narratives,* 59. See also Katsunori Miyazaki, "Characteristics of Popular Movements in Nineteenth-Century Japan: Riots during the Second Chōshū War," *Japan Forum* 17, no. 1 (2005): 1–24; Irwin Scheiner, "Benevolent Lords and Honorable Peasants: Rebellion and Peasant Consciousness in Tokugawa Japan," in *Japanese Thought in the Tokugawa Period 1600–1868: Methods and Metaphors,* ed. Tetsuo Najita and Irwin Scheiner (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), 39–62; Watanabe Hiroshi, *A History of Japanese Political Thought: 1600–1901,* trans. David Noble (Tokyo: International House of Japan, 2012), 225.
17. For examples of frenzy or opportunism, see Laura Nenzi, "To Ise at All Costs: Religious and Economic Implications of Early Modern *Nukemairi,*" *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 33, no. 1 (2006): 75–114; Nancy K. Stalker, *Prophet Motive: Deguchi Onisaburō, Oomoto, and the Rise of New Religions in Imperial Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008).
18. Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980); Giovani Levi, *Inheriting Power: The Story of an Exorcist,* trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988). For microhistorical studies of more privileged men, see Natalie Zemon Davis, *Trickster Travels: A Sixteenth-Century*

Muslim Between Worlds (New York: Hill and Wang, 2006), and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Three Ways to Be Alien: Travails and Encounters in the Early Modern World* (Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2011).

19. George R. Stewart, *Pickett's Charge: A Microhistory of the Final Attack at Gettysburg, July 3, 1863,* cited in Carlo Ginzburg, "Microhistory: Two or Three Things That I Know about It," trans. John Tedeschi and Anne C. Tedeschi, *Critical Inquiry* 20, no. 1 (1993): 10–35.
20. Levi, *Inheriting Power,* xvi.
21. Ginzburg, "Microhistory."
22. John Brewer, "Microhistory and the Histories of Everyday Life," Ludwig-Maximilians Universität Center for Advanced Studies, *CAS e-series* 5 (2010): 2.
23. Brad S. Gregory, "*Is* Small Beautiful? Microhistory and the History of Everyday Life," *History and Theory* 38, no. 1 (February 1999): 100.
24. Ginzburg, "Microhistory": 22.
25. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Waka zatsuei* (KTS, MS No. 12), 13 recto.
26. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kyōto toraware no fumi,* I: 15 recto.
27. Ibid., I: 15 recto and 16 verso.
28. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Shiki zatsuei Genji ninen yayoi* (KTS, MS No. 14), 9 recto. "No one comes / to chat: / day in and day out / the bamboo in my garden / looks like my only friend" (*katariau / hito konakereba / akekure no / tomo to koso mire / niwa no kuretake*).
29. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kikō* (KTS, MS No. 1), 3 recto, and Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kyōto toraware no fumi,* I: 18 verso.
30. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kyōto toraware no fumi,* II: 22 recto.
31. Ibid., 19 verso.
32. While I will focus almost exclusively on works produced through World War II, it is worth mentioning that recent studies also fail to discuss Tokiko's relations to Shugendō and divination. See Shiba Keiko, "Hendō suru jisei ni tachiagaru onna: *Toraware no fumi,*" in *Bungaku ni miru Nihon josei no rekishi,* ed. Nishimura Hiroko et al. (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2000), 176–178.
33. Ginzburg, "Microhistory": 22.
34. Fukai Jinzō, *Kinsei josei tabi to kaidō kōtsū* (Toyama: Kashira Shobō, 1995), 54–74; Yamakawa Kikue, *Women of the Mito Domain*: *Recollections of Samurai Family Life,* trans. Kate Wildman Nakai (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1992), 144 n. 1.
35. See Kaneko Sachiko, *Nihon joseishi daijiten* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2008), 216–217; Sakuma Yoshio, ed., *Kyōdo rekishi jinbutsu jiten: Ibaraki* (Tokyo: Daiichi Hōki Shuppan, 1978), 80–81; Mito-shi Kyōiku Iinkai, *Mito no sendatsu* (Mito: Mito-shi Kyōiku Iinkai, 2000), 250–253; Nihon Rekishi Gakkai, ed., *Meiji ishin jinmei jiten* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1981), 376.
36. For example, Aida Hanji and Harada Haruno, *Kinsei joryū bunjin den* (Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 1960), lists seventy-six female writers of the early modern period, thirty-one of whom lived in the late Tokugawa, but leaves Tokiko out. She is also not included in a four-volume anthology of Tokugawa-period female

writers: Furuya Chishin, *Edo jidai joryū bungaku zenshū* (Tokyo: Nihon Tosho Sentaa, 1979; first ed. 1919).

37. Minesaburō's collection is mentioned in Joshi Gakushūin, ed., *Joryū chosaku kaidai* (Tokyo: Joshi Gakushūin, 1939), 509 and 26–27. I was informed about the destruction of the manuscript in a personal email from Kuramochi Hitoshi, Gakushūin librarian, on February 12, 2007. After the war what remained of the library collection was inherited by the Gakushūin Joshi Chū-Kōtōka.
38. Katsura-mura Shidankai, ed., *Katsurashi kiyō 4: Kurosawa Tokiko tokushū* (Katsura: Katsura-mura Shidankai, 1979).
39. For the complete list, including the names of the individual exhibitors, see ibid., 63–64.
40. Ibid., 65.
41. "Kurosawa Toki o eigaka e," *Ibaraki shinbun,* January 1, 2010, 35.
42. Mito-shi Kyōiku Iinkai, *Mito no sendatsu,* 250–253.
43. Sakuma Yoshio, ed., *Kyōdo rekishi jinbutsu jiten,* 80–81. For more on Tokiko's activities as a teacher, see Anzō Ryōko, "Onna terakoya shishō no seikatsu: Kurosawa Tokiko no nikki ni miru terakoya kyōiku no yōsu," *Edoki onnakō* 11 (2000): 23–34; and, by the same author, "Onna terakoya shishō no seikatsu: Kurosawa Tokiko no nikki ni miru terakoya kyōiku no yōsu," *Sogō joseishi kenkyū* 21 (March 2004): 106–108.
44. Shiba Keiko, *Kinsei no onna tabi nikki jiten* (Tokyo: Tōkyōdō Shuppan, 2005), 44–46. An English translation is also available: Shiba Keiko, *Literary Creations on the Road: Women's Travel Diaries in Early Modern Japan,* trans. Motoko Ezaki (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2012). See also Fukai Jinzō, *Kinsei josei tabi to kaidō kōtsū,* 54–74.

CHAPTER 1: A NEST AND A NEXUS

1. All Tokugawa period dates are given according to the pre-modern lunar calendar unless otherwise specified.
2. Katsura Sonshi Hensan Iinkai, *Katsura sonshi: Tsūshi-hen* (Katsura: Katsura-mura, 2004), 288. The average Tokugawa-era village consisted of approximately one hundred households; see Scheiner, "Benevolent Lords and Honorable Peasants," 44, and Watanabe, *A History of Japanese Political Thought,* 218.
3. Katsura-mura Kyōiku Iinkai, *Katsura-mura kyōdoshi* (Katsura: Katsura-mura, 1978), 4.
4. Ibid., 43.
5. Also known as Shōjirō, Mitsunaka, Masahisa Sōjirō, or Sōsaburō. See Ogawa Enson, *Bakumatsu rimenshi: Kinnō retsujoden* (Tokyo: Shin Jinbutsu Ōraisha, 1998), 80; Joshi Gakushūin, ed., *Joryū chosaku kaidai,* 565; Gunji Atsunobu, ed., *Kokon musō retsujo Tokiko* (Mito: Gunji Atsunobu, 1900), 1; Shimomura Miyokichi, "Kurosawa Tokiko," pt. 1, *Fujin to kodomo* 2, no. 9 (September 1902): 43; Saiki Kumi, "Kurosawa Tokiko no shōzō shashin no waka ni kansuru ikkōsatsu: 'Masukagami' o tegakari ni," *Ibaraki daigaku kyōiku gakubu kiyō*

(Kyōiku kagaku) 60 (2011): 22. Noguchi Katsuichi reads the name as Sōsaburō Masahisa; see Noguchi Katsuichi, "Kurosawa Tokijo den," in *Yashidai ishin shiryō sōsho 16, denki 7*, ed. Nihon Shiseki Kyōkai (Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1975), 216.

6. Katsura Sonshi Hensan Iinkai, *Katsura sonshi: Tsūshi-hen,* 287–288.
7. Anzō Ryōko, "Nikki ni miru Genji kinoenone no ran, Genji gannen Kurosawa Tokiko no *Nichiyō chōhōki* kara," *Edoki onnakō* 13 (2002): 51.
8. Ernest W. Clement, "Mito Samurai and British Sailors in 1824," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* 1, no. 33 (1905): 125–126.
9. Ibid., 97.
10. Kate Wildman Nakai, "Introduction," in Yamakawa Kikue, *Women of the Mito Domain: Recollections of Samurai Family Life,* trans. Kate Wildman Nakai (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001), xv.
11. Yamakawa, *Women of the Mito Domain,* 19.
12. Kanamori Atsuko, "Kurosawa Toki *Jōkyō nikki, Kyōto toraware no fumi,*" *Kokubungaku kaishaku to kanshō* 71, no. 8 (August 2006): 117. Anzō Ryōko, "Kurosawa Tokiko no shōgai to shisō," *Ibaraki shirin* 25 (2001): 63. Tatebayashi Miyatarō, *Kurosawa Rikkyō* (Mito: Rikkyōkai, 1937), 15.
13. Tatebayashi, *Kurosawa Rikkyō,* 22, and Anzō, "Onna terakoya shishō no seikatsu" (2000): 24, set the date at 1831; Anzō, however, also writes that Hikozō died in 1832 in "Kurosawa Tokiko no shōgai to shisō": 63. Saiki gives a date of 1834 in "Kurosawa Tokiko no shōzō shashin": 22.
14. It was common practice for widows to shave their hair, pick a religious name, and become nuns after the death of their husbands. While Tokiko did not take the vows, she still marked the transition by acquiring a new name. See Barbara Ruch, "The Other Side of Culture in Medieval Japan," *The Cambridge History of Japan 3, Medieval Japan,* ed. Kozo Yamamura (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 508–509.
15. Katsura-mura Kyōiku Iinkai, *Katsura-mura kyōdoshi,* 38–39.
16. Ibid., 41.
17. Anzō, "Kurosawa Tokiko no shōgai to shisō": 62.
18. In Katsura-mura Kyōiku Iinkai, *Katsura-mura kyōdoshi,* 41.
19. For a sample of the haiku she composed under Obana An, see Katsura Sonshi Hensan Iinkai, *Katsura sonshi: Tsūshi-hen,* 292–293.
20. Anzō, "Onna terakoya shishō no seikatsu" (2004): 106.
21. Anna Beerens, *Friends, Acquaintances, Pupils and Patrons—Japanese Intellectual Life in the Late Eighteenth Century: A Prosopographical Approach* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2006), 230–231.
22. Takeshi Moriyama, "Communicating Provincials: The Correspondence Network of Suzuki Bokushi (1770–1842)," *Japanese Studies* 29, no. 1 (May 2009): 47–63.
23. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kikō,* 17 verso; Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kyōto toraware no fumi,* I: 16 recto and II: 14 verso. In a collection from 1856, Tokiko cites *Ode to the*

Autumn Wind, putatively attributed to Emperor Wu of the Han. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Ansei sannen waka zatsuei hinoetatsu keishū* (KTS, MS No. 7), 6 recto.

24. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Waka zatsuei Ansei yonen hinotomi rōgetsu* (KTS, MS No. 8), 4 recto. The poem is titled "Confucianism."
25. Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo, *Ishin shiryō kōyō* (Tokyo: Ishin Shiryō Hensan Jimukyoku, 1937), 3:171. *Shūshinroku osumitsuki* (KTS, MS No. 44). Sources that present him as her stepfather include Shima Fujio, *Nihon reppuden: Rekishi bidan* (Tokyo: Kindai Shōsetsusha, 1942), 305; Katsura Sonshi Hensan Iinkai, *Katsura sonshi: Tsūshi-hen,* 288; Tatebayashi, *Kurosawa Rikkyō,* 24.
26. Hitachi Ōta Shishi Hensan Iinkai, *Hitachi Ōta shishi: Minzoku-hen* (Ōta: Hitachi Ōta Shiyakusho, 1979), 606–607. James Edward Ketelaar, *Of Heretics and Martyrs in Meiji Japan: Buddhism and Its Persecution* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), 50–53. See also Martin Collcutt, "Buddhism: The Threat of Eradication," in *Japan in Transition: From Tokugawa to Meiji,* ed. Marius B. Jansen and Gilbert Rozman (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), 143–167.
27. For some examples, see Katsura Sonshi Hensan Iinkai, *Katsura sonshi: Tsūshi-hen,* 293.
28. Poems by Fusako are included in Kurosawa Tokiko, *Tōki randai* (KTS, MS No. 5), 10 recto.
29. Katsura-mura Kyōiku Iinkai, *Katsura-mura kyōdoshi,* 45.
30. Katsura Sonshi Hensan Iinkai, *Katsura sonshi: Tsūshi-hen,* 305.
31. Ibid.
32. Katsura Sonshi Hensan Iinkai, *Katsura sonshi: Tsūshi-hen,* 307. For an example of a petition, see Katsura-mura Kyōiku Iinkai, *Katsura-mura kyōdoshi,* 46.
33. Saiki, "Kurosawa Tokiko no shōzō shashin": 24.
34. Watanabe, *A History of Japanese Political Thought,* 223.
35. Katōgi Nao, "Rikkyō joshi nenpu," in *Katsurashi kiyō 4: Kurosawa Tokiko tokushū,* ed. Katsura-mura Shidankai (Katsura: Katsura-mura Shidankai, 1979), 59.
36. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Monjin renmenchō* (KTS, MS No. 36), dated 1852/7. The "gifts" may have been tuition fees paid in kind, as later diaries indicate.
37. Conrad Totman, "Political Reconciliation in the Tokugawa Bakufu: Abe Masahiro and Tokugawa Nariaki, 1844–1852," in *Personality in Japanese History,* ed. Albert M. Craig and Donald H. Shively (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), 205. The occasion was the preparation for Yoshiatsu's nuptials.
38. Harootunian, *Toward Restoration,* 38–39 and 148–149.
39. P. F. Kornicki, "Women, Education, and Literacy," in *The Female as Subject: Reading and Writing in Early Modern Japan,* ed. P. F. Kornicki, Mara Patessio, and G. G. Rowley (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 2010), 21.
40. Edoardo Grendi, "Ripensare la microstoria?" *Quaderni Storici* 29, nos. 86–87 (1994): 544; Edoardo Grendi, "Micro-analisi e storia sociale," *Quaderni Storici* 12, nos. 34–36 (1977): 506–520.

41. Janine Sawada, *Confucian Values and Popular Zen: Sekimon Shingaku in Eighteenth-Century Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1993), 10–11 and 139. For a look at private academies, where teachers were mostly samurai, see Richard Rubinger, *Private Academies of Tokugawa Japan* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982).
42. For a complete list of their names, see Katsura Sonshi Hensan Iinkai, *Katsura sonshi: Tsūshi-hen,* 288.
43. Ibid., 291.
44. Ibid., 289.
45. Katsura-mura Kyōiku Iinkai, *Katsura-mura kyōdoshi,* 300.
46. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Nichiyō chōhōki* (1858–1859) (KTS, MS No. 40), entries for 12/13 and 12/18.
47. For example, see Kurosawa Tokiko, *Ansei gonen nikkichō* (KTS, MS No. 33), entries for 7/18 and 7/19; Kurosawa Tokiko, *Nichiyō chōhōki* (1858–1859), entries for 12/9 and 12/10.
48. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Ansei gonen nikkichō,* entries for 8/17 and 8/3.
49. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Nichiyō chōhōki* (1858–1859), entries for 12/10 and 12/23.
50. Brian Platt, *Burning and Building: Schooling and State Formation in Japan, 1750–1890* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 75–99.
51. *Oshieguruma* (Tokiko Shiryōkan, Shirosato); *Tenarai shikimoku* (Tokiko Shiryōkan, Shirosato). Both manuals have unnumbered pages; all page references are based on my own counting. The content of *Rules for Learning* is virtually identical to the set of precepts included in R. P. Dore, *Education in Tokugawa Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965), 323–326.
52. *Oshieguruma,* 13.
53. A common expression in Edo period textbooks and the opening line of the primer *Jitsugokyō;* see Dore, *Education in Tokugawa Japan,* 280.
54. *Tenarai shikimoku,* 1 verso.
55. *Oshieguruma*, 3–4.
56. Ibid., 7–8.
57. *Tenarai shikimoku,* 1 verso–2 verso. One section in this manual is titled "Dos" (*tsukamatsurubeki koto*). Ibid., 11 verso.
58. *Oshieguruma,* 14.
59. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Ansei gonen nikkichō,* entry for 8/3.
60. Ibid., 12.
61. *Tenarai shikimoku,* 4 verso.
62. Dore, *Education in Tokugawa Japan,* 271 and 275.
63. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Ansei gonen nikkichō,* entries for 8/10 and 8/17 (*warui, ahōmono, komarimono*).
64. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Nichiyō chōhōki* (1858–1859), entries for 10/22 and 12/12.
65. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Ansei gonen nikkichō,* entry for 8/9.
66. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Nichiyō chōhōki* (1858–1859), entry for 11/15.
67. Ibid., entry for 12/27.
68. Anzō, "Onna terakoya shishō no seikatsu" (2000): 32.

69. Dore, *Education in Tokugawa Japan,* 260.
70. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Ansei gonen nikkichō,* entry for 8/11; *Nichiyō chōhōki* (1858–1859), entries for 9/29, 9/30, and 10/6.
71. Mimura Shōji[bei], *Kinsu azukari shōmon no koto* (KKM, Box No. 6, MS No. 1053).
72. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Ansei gonen nikkichō,* entry for 9/5.
73. Byron Earhart, "Introduction," in Miyake Hitoshi, *Shugendō: Essays on the Structure of Japanese Folk Religion* (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 2001), 2–3.
74. Carmen Blacker, *The Catalpa Bow: A Study of Shamanistic Practices in Japan* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1975), 20–22.
75. Royall Tyler and Paul L. Swanson, Editors' Introduction, *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 16, nos. 2–3 (1989): 94.
76. Blacker, *The Catalpa Bow,* 22.
77. Fabian Drixler, *Mabiki: Infanticide and Population Growth in Eastern Japan, 1660–1950* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), 97.
78. Kanda Yoriko, *Miko to Shugen no shūkyō minzokugakuteki kenkyū* (Tokyo: Iwata Shoin, 2001), 341–349 and 503.
79. Helen Hardacre, "Conflict between Shugendō and the New Religions of Bakumatsu Japan," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 21, nos. 2–3 (1994): 141 and 146. See also Miyake Hitoshi, "Religious Rituals in Shugendō: A Summary," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 16, nos. 2–3 (1989): 101–102.
80. Tanigawa Ken'ichi, *Yōkai* (Tokyo: San'ichi Shobō, 1988), 157.
81. Ibid., 157–158.
82. Gorai Shigeru, *Shugendō reizan no rekishi to shinkō* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2008), 47.
83. Fukui Ryōmei, "Shugendō kyōgisho de no hontō futaha," *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 23, no. 2 (1975): 853–858.
84. Ehara Tadaaki, "Shugendō no chihō soshiki: Mitoryō no baai—sono ichi," *Ibaraki shirin* 4 (1975): 18 and 20. See also Ibaraki Shinbunsha, ed., *Ibaraki-ken daihyakka jiten* (Mito: Ibaraki Shinbunsha, 1981), 521.
85. Kanda, *Miko to Shugen,* 74; Nishida Kahoru, "Miko," in Takano Toshihiko, ed., *Minkan ni ikiru shūkyōsha* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2000), 51–89.
86. Wai-ming Ng, "Study and Uses of the *I Ching* in Tokugawa Japan," *Sino-Japanese Studies* 9, no. 2 (November 1990): 24–44. Charles Hepner, *The Kurozumi Sect of Shinto* (Tokyo: Meiji Japan Society, 1935), 65–71.
87. *Hikime no daijizen* (KKM, Box No. 5, MS No. 789).
88. Blacker, *The Catalpa Bow,* 106–107.
89. Koike Jun'ichi, "Hokiden no igi," in *Hokiden onmyō zassho nukigaki,* ed. Hisano Toshihiko and Koike Jun'ichi (Tokyo: Iwata Shoin, 2010), 291–309.
90. Richard Wilhelm, trans., *The I Ching or Book of Changes* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1950), 392–395. Hepner, *The Kurozumi Secto of Shinto,* 65–71.

91. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Ansei gonen nikkichō,* entry for 8/7.
92. Katsu Kokichi, *Musui's Story: The Autobiography of a Tokugawa Samurai,* trans. Teruko Craig (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1988), 83–84.
93. Hayashi Makoto, "Tokugawa-Period Disputes between Shugen Organizations and *Onmyōji* over Rights to Practice Divination," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 21, nos. 2–3 (1994): 168–169, 175 n. 6, and 176.

CHAPTER 2: CIRCLES AND CIRCUMSTANCES

1. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kyōto toraware no fumi,* II: 19 verso.
2. Anzō, "Kurosawa Tokiko no shōgai to shisō": 63.
3. Shimomura, "Kurosawa Tokiko," pt. 1: 44. Shimomura identifies Sukenobu as Tokiko's second husband.
4. Mark Teeuwen reminds us that some branches of Kokugaku "did not necessarily regard Japanese studies as incongruous with Chinese studies." Mark Teeuwen, "Kokugaku vs. Nativism," *Monumenta Nipponica* 61, no. 2 (Summer 2006): 233.
5. On nativism see Mark McNally, *Proving the Way: Conflict and Practice in the History of Japanese Nativism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2005); Burns, *Before the Nation;* H. D. Harootunian, *Things Seen and Unseen: Discourse and Ideology in Tokugawa Nativism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988).
6. *Oshieguruma,* 14.
7. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Ansei gonen nikkichō,* entry for 8/1. Anzō Ryōko reads the name as Kaga Ginzaburō; Anzō, "Kurosawa Tokiko no shōgai to shisō": 62.
8. Hōjuin, *Betsu ya dōjō kenritsu goseshu tsuki chō* (KKM, Box No. 5, MS No. 786).
9. See Kanda, *Miko to Shugen,* 128. Blacker, *The Catalpa Bow,* chapter 8.
10. Peter Knecht, review of Ingrid Fritsch, *Japans blinde Sänger im Schutz der Gottheit Myōon-Benzaiten, Asian Ethnology* 58, no. 2 (1999): 444–445.
11. Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo, *Ishin shiryō kōyō* (Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1941), 3:58. Akutsu Takuo, "Genjiki ni okeru sonjōha nōmin no dōkō ni tsuite—Hitachikuni Kujigun Machida chihō o chūshin to shite," *Ibaraki shirin* 7 (1978): 20 and 29.
12. For a description of religious activities in the area, see Katsura Sonshi Hensan Iinkai, *Katsura sonshi: Tsūshi-hen,* 294–298.
13. Anzō, "Onna terakoya shishō no seikatsu" (2000): 24. Anzō also points out that some of the people described in Tokiko's diaries fit the profile of the loyalist. Anzō, "Kurosawa Tokiko no shōgai to shisō": 62–63.
14. Anzō, "Onna terakoya shishō no seikatsu" (2004): 106.
15. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Ansei sannen waka zatsuei,* 1 recto.
16. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Waka zatsuei* (1857), 4 recto.
17. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Tōki randai* (1855), 14 verso.

18. Roger K. Thomas, *Plebeian Travelers on the Way of Shikishima: Waka Theory and Practice during the Late Tokugawa Period* (Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1991), vii.
19. The first two syllables in Hitachi allude to *hida,* or folds, conveying the image of "folded sleeves." Basil Hall Chamberlain, "On the Use of 'Pillow Words' and Plays upon Words in Japanese Poetry," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* 5, no. 1 (1877): 84.
20. Katagiri Yōichi, *Utamakura utakotoba jiten* (Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 1999), 194.
21. "Shaking and rectifying / a world / that lost / its peaceful ways: / the work of heaven and earth?" (*Tairakeki / michi ushinaeru / yo no naka o / yuriaratamemu / ametsuchi no waza*). Nomura Bōtō, "Kōryōshū," in *Bōtō-ni kabunshū,* ed. Sasaki Nobutsuna and Ōkubo Takaaki (Fukuoka: Morioka Kumahiko, 1911), 161. Tanigawa, *Nomura Bōtō-ni,* 70.
22. For more on the loyalist connection between Shunzō and Tokiko, see chapter 7. Ibaraki University owns several letters from Shunzō to Tokiko sent well into the Meiji period.
23. J. Victor Koschmann, "Action as a Text: Ideology in the Tengu Insurrection," in *Conflict in Modern Japanese History: The Neglected Tradition,* ed. Tetsuo Najita and J. Victor Koschmann (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982), 89–92.
24. Yamakawa, *Women of the Mito Domain,* 30.
25. Katsura Sonshi Hensan Iinkai, *Katsura sonshi: Tsūshi hen,* 310.
26. Mito Shishi Hensan Iinkai, *Mito shishi, chūkan 4* (Mito: Mito-shi, 1982), 965–970.
27. The faction centered on the Kōdōkan, the domain academy, pushed for the return of the decree. More radical elements, future members of the Tengu faction, opposed it.
28. Katsura Sonshi Hensan Iinkai, *Katsura sonshi: Tsūshi hen,* 312.
29. Ibid., 313.
30. Kanamori, "Kurosawa Toki": 118.
31. *Mito-han shiryō, jōhen, kon* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1915), 227.
32. Ibid., 228.
33. A previous cholera outbreak had occurred in 1822.
34. Komiyama Nanryō, "Nanryō nenroku," in *Ibaraki-ken shiryō, bakumatsu-hen II,* ed. Ibaraki Kenritsu Rekishikan (Mito: Ibaraki-ken, 1989), 124; Kojima Kiyofumi and Fushiwaki Toshio, eds., *Ōkyō zakki* (Toyama: Katsura Shobō, 1990), 924; Maeda-ke Henshūbu, *Kaga-han shiryō, bakumatsu-hen 1* (Tokyo: Hirose Hōsaku, 1958), 987.
35. Komiyama Nanryō, "Nanryō nenroku," 125.
36. Inoue Jōshō, *Shinkakuji nikki II, jishin nikki 3–4* (Kōchi: Kōchi Shiritsu Shimin Toshokan, 1969), 125.
37. Komiyama Nanryō, "Nanryō nenroku," 123, 131, and 141.
38. Kojima and Fushiwaki, eds., *Ōkyō zakki,* 925.
39. Ibid., 910 and 916.

40. An 1868 broadsheet, for example, reports that 100 *mon* would buy 1.35 liters of rice in 1857, but only 0.93 liters in 1869. Nakayama Einosuke, ed., *Edo Meiji kawaraban senshū* (Tokyo: Jinbunsha, 1974), fig. 66.
41. Maeda-ke Henshūbu, *Kaga-han shiryō*, 970–976.
42. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Waka zatsuei Ansei gonen kika kichijōtsuki* (KTS, MS. No. 9), 3 verso, 4 recto, and 11 verso. Similar poems appear in Kurosawa Tokiko, *Waka zatsuei Ansei gonen tsuchinoeuma shimotsuki* (KTS, MS No. 10), 2 verso (1858/6) and 4 verso (1858/11).
43. Katsura Sonshi Hensan Iinkai, *Katsura sonshi: Tsūshi-hen,* 314.
44. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Nichiyō chōhōki* (1858–1859), entry for 12/26.

CHAPTER 3: GLIMPSES OF HISTORY (THE SCRIPT)

1. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Ansei gonen nikkichō,* entry for 8/24.
2. Kenneth R. Lang, *A Companion to Astronomy and Astrophysics: Chronology and Glossary with Data Tables* (New York: Springer, 2006), 133, table 5; Ōsaki Shōji, ed., *Kinsei Nihon tenmon shiryō* (Tokyo: Hara Shobō, 1994), 516 n. 12.
3. T. A. Darragh, "Ludwig Becker, a Scientific Dilettante: His Correspondence with J. J. Kaup and Others," *Historical Records of Australian Science* 11, no. 4 (1996): 504; Roberta J. M. Olson, "A Water-Colour by Samuel Palmer of Donati's Comet," *Burlington Magazine* 132, no. 1052 (1990): 795–796; Jay M. Pasachoff and Roberta J. M. Olson, "Comets and Meteors in 18th and 19th Century British Art and Science," *Physics Education* 30, no. 3 (1995): 156–162; Jay M. Pasachoff, Roberta J. M. Olson, and Martha L. Hazen, "The Earliest Comet Photographs: Usherwood, Bond, and Donati 1858," *Journal for the History of Astronomy* 27 (1996): 129–145; Antonella Gasperini, Daniele Galli, and Laura Nenzi, "The Worldwide Impact of Donati's Comet on Art and Society in the Mid-19th Century," in *The Role of Astronomy in Society and Culture, Proceedings IAU Symposium* 260 (2009): 340–345.
4. *Mito-han shiryō, jōhen, kon,* 228.
5. Inoue Jōshō, *Shinkakuji nikki,* 112–129.
6. Tōkamachi Shishi Hensan Iinkai, ed., *Tōkamachi shishi, shiryō-hen 5, kinsei 2* (Tōkamachi: Tōkamachi Shiyakusho, 1993), 713.
7. Laura Nenzi, "Caught in the Spotlight: The 1858 Comet and Late-Tokugawa Japan," *Japan Forum* 23, no. 1 (2011): 18.
8. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kikō,* 1 recto, 1 verso.
9. *Shōmonki,* the chronicle of Masakado's rebellion (completed in 940), makes no mention of a comet, but it does mention a change in era name in 938, the year before the rebellion. While such changes were often prompted by the appearance of comets, Judith Rabinovitch argues that in this case the change may have been undertaken to ward off an earthquake, a military insurrection, and/or other such calamities. Judith N. Rabinovitch, trans. and ed., *Shōmonki: The Story of Masakado's Rebellion* (Tokyo: Monumenta Nipponica, 1986), 84 and 85

n. 57. Chinese records attest to the appearance of a comet in 936 and of one in 938. Ichiro Hasegawa, "Catalogue of Ancient and Naked-Eye Comets," *Vistas in Astronomy* 24, no. 1 (1980): 75 and 92.

10. Terajima Ryōan, *Wakan sansai zue* (Tokyo: Heibonsha 1985), 1:166.
11. Ōsaki, *Kinsei Nihon tenmon shiryō,* 502.
12. Sugi Takeshi, "Shoseki to fōkuroa: Kinsei no hitobito no suiseikan o megutte," *Hitotsubashi ronsō* 134, no. 4 (2005): 733.
13. Ōsaki, *Kinsei Nihon tenmon shiryō,* 463.
14. *Junshōki chōsei igyō zuiri* (Record of Pure Lights, Including Illustrations of Long Stars with Strange Shapes) depicts the three major comets of the late Tokugawa: Donati (1858), Tebbutt (1861), and Swift-Tuttle (1862). http://members2.jcom.home.ne.jp/88fukusenji/star.html.
15. Fujiwara Tadabumi (873–947), a general sent to crush Taira no Masakado in 940, held the title of *seitō taishōgun*.
16. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kikō,* 1 verso.
17. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Ansei gonen nikkichō,* entry for 9/16. See also Kurosawa Tokiko, *Waka zatsuei Ansei gonen kika kichijōtsuki,* 4 verso.
18. Anzō, "Kurosawa Tokiko no shōgai to shisō": 65.
19. Luke S. Roberts, *Mercantilism in a Japanese Domain: The Merchant Origins of Economic Nationalism in 18th-Century Tosa* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 5–7; Luke S. Roberts, *Performing the Great Peace: Political Space and Open Secrets in Tokugawa Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2012), 43–52; Mark Ravina, *Land and Lordship in Early Modern Japan* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999), 30.
20. Cited in Burns, *Before the Nation,* 28. Burns identifies this shift in the geographic imagination with the second half of the eighteenth century and attributes it to the availability of printed knowledge, the creation of new media, the development of networks that facilitated the flow of information, and a spike in the number of political commentaries. Ibid., 28 and 99.
21. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kyōto toraware no fumi,* I: 13 verso, 14 recto.
22. Yoshikawa Eiji, "Aikoku josei emonogatari," *Shufu no tomo* 22, no. 2 (Feb. 1938): 52.
23. Nunomura Yasuhiro, *Meiji ishin to josei* (Tokyo: Ritsumeikan Shuppanbu, 1936), 101; Gunji, *Kokon musō retsujo Tokiko,* 4; Takaki Shunsuke, "Sōmō no josei," in *Nihon joseishi 3: Kinsei,* ed. Joseishi Sōgō Kenkyūkai (Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1982), 260; Noguchi, "Kurosawa Tokijo den," 216.
24. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kyōto toraware no fumi,* I: 13 verso and 14 recto.
25. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kikō,* 2 recto. The entry for 12/26 in *Nichiyō chōhōki* (1858–1859) makes no mention of Nakatsukasa.
26. Gunji, *Kokon musō retsujo Tokiko*, 4.
27. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kikō,* 1 verso.
28. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kyōto toraware no fumi,* II: 18 verso.
29. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kikō,* 3 recto.

30. Ibid., 2 verso.
31. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Waka zatsuei Ansei gonen tsuchinoeuma shimotsuki,* 16 recto.
32. "A perfectly clear / unclouded mirror / deep in my heart / its light shining / all around" (*kumorinaki / kokoro no soko no / masukagami / terasu hikari wa / yomo ni kagayake*). Ibid., 17 recto.
33. Ibid., 16 verso.
34. Ibid.
35. Blacker, *The Catalpa Bow,* 106–107.
36. On her intention to obtain the document see Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kikō,* 2 verso.
37. Ibid., 3 verso.
38. Ibid., 2 verso, 3 recto.
39. Roberts, *Mercantilism in a Japanese Domain,* 5.
40. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kikō,* 14 recto.
41. Ibid., 19 verso.
42. Burns, *Before the Nation;* Harootunian, *Things Seen and Unseen*.
43. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kikō,* 14 recto, 14 verso.
44. Ibid., 4 recto.
45. Scroll 6, Winter, poem no. 979 by Muneoka no Ōyori. My translation. Laurel Rasplica Rodd and Mary Catherine Henkenius translate it as follows: "As I walked along / the road to Koshi I thought / only of you when / do the snows ever disappear / on glistening Shira Mountain." Laurel Rasplica Rodd and Mary Catherine Henkenius, *Kokinshū: A Collection of Poems Ancient and Modern* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), 331.
46. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kikō,* 17 verso.
47. Ibid., 3 verso.
48. Ibid. For Mount Sumeru, see Miyake Hitoshi, *Shugendō: Essays on the Structure of Japanese Folk Religion* (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 2001), 136.
49. Kanamori, "Kurosawa Toki": 121. See also Anzō, "Kurosawa Tokiko no shōgai to shisō": 76, n. 4.
50. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kyōto toraware no fumi,* I: 13 verso and 16 verso.
51. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kikō,* 5 verso.

CHAPTER 4: FROM SCRIPT TO STAGE

1. Gunji, *Kokon musō retsujo Tokiko,* 4.
2. Takamure Itsue, *Dai Nihon josei jinmei jisho* (Tokyo: Kōseikaku, 1936), 185–186. Nunomura, *Meiji ishin to josei,* 100.
3. Haga Noboru, ed., *Nihon josei jinmei jiten* (Tokyo: Nihon Tosho Sentaa, 1993), 406.
4. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kikō,* 25 verso.
5. Ibid., 9 recto. Katsura Sonshi Hensan Iinkai, *Katsura sonshi: Tsūshi-hen,* 316. On Jihei see also Mito Shishi Hensan Iinkai, *Mito shishi, chūkan 4,* 114–119.

6. Mito Shishi Hensan Iinkai, *Mito shishi, chūkan 4,* 119. A note produced by Sukenobu Hōin in 1843 bears the seal of "the *shōya* Jihei." Sukenobu Hōin, *Suzugoya-mura onawairi tahata tanbetsu mura takachō gokaisei* (KKM, Box No. 2, MS No. 87).
7. Mito Shishi Hensan Iinkai, *Mito shishi, chūkan 4,* 114–119; the text of the petition is included here.
8. Katsura Sonshi Hensan Iinkai, *Katsura sonshi: Tsūshi-hen,* 305.
9. Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo, *Dai Nihon ishin shiryō: Ruisan no bu, Ii-ke shiryō* (Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1959), 18:250.
10. Noguchi Katsuichi, ed., *Mito zōi shoken ryakuden* (Tokyo: Yashidai, 1892), 84–86.
11. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kikō,* 9 verso.
12. Ibid., 10 recto.
13. Ibid., 11 recto–13 verso.
14. Ibid., 5 recto–5 verso.
15. Ibid., 6 verso.
16. Ibid., 23 verso–24 verso.
17. Ibid., 25 verso.
18. Ibid., 21 verso. Obasute is traditionally associated with the sorrow of separation.
19. Ibid., 26 recto.
20. Katsura Sonshi Hensan Iinkai, *Katsura sonshi: Tsūshi-hen,* 317.
21. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kyōto toraware no fumi,* I: 4 recto.
22. Scheiner, "Benevolent Lords and Honorable Peasants," 54; see also Luke S. Roberts, "The Petition Box in Eighteenth-Century Tosa," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 20, no. 2 (Summer 1994): 423–458.
23. Kanamori, "Kurosawa Toki": 124.
24. Roger K. Thomas, "Macroscopic vs. Microscopic: Spatial Sensibilities in Waka of the Bakumatsu Period," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 58, no. 2 (December 1998): 513–542. Haruo Shirane, *Traditional Japanese Literature: An Anthology, Beginnings to 1600* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 6.
25. There are various versions of the long poem. The ones used here appear in Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kyōto toraware no fumi,* I: 19 recto–20 recto; and in Kurosawa Tokiko, *Waka zatsuei* (1860): 11 recto–13 verso. Another version is included in her 1873 poetry collection titled *Shiki wakashū,* 2 recto–3 verso. For a printed version (with some discrepancies) see Nagasawa Mitsu, *Nyonin waka taikei 3* (Tokyo: Kazama Shobō, 1968), 553–554. Other printed versions appear in Gunji, *Kokon musō retsujo Tokiko,* 5–7; Nunomura, *Meiji ishin to josei,* 103–104; Katsura-mura Kyōiku Iinkai, *Katsura-mura kyōdoshi,* 301–302.
26. Shirane, *Traditional Japanese Literature,* 67; Haruo Shirane and Lawrence E. Marceau, "Early Modern Literature," *Early Modern Japan* (Fall 2002): 25.
27. Manabe Akikatsu (1802–1884) traveled to Kyoto in 1858 to receive the court's endorsement for Ii Naosuke's policies.
28. Harootunian, *Toward Restoration,* 132.

29. Koschmann, *The Mito Ideology,* 4 and 80. The slogan "revere the emperor, expel the barbarians" was first used by Mito scholars in 1838, though it did not originally imply rejection of the Tokugawa government. George M. Wilson, "The Bakumatsu Intellectual in Action: Hashimoto Sanai in the Political Crisis of 1858," in *Personality in Japanese History,* ed. Albert M. Craig and Donald H. Shively (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), 248 and 248 n. 34.
30. Harootunian, *Toward Restoration,* 49–54.
31. Koschmann, *The Mito Ideology,* 146–147.
32. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Nichiyō chōhōki* (1864) (KTS, MS No 41), 12 recto.
33. Koschmann, *The Mito Ideology,* 60 and 58.
34. Harootunian, *Toward Restoration,* 106.
35. Koschmann, *The Mito Ideology,* 128. Harootunian points out that it was precisely such complacency that spelled the demise of Mitogaku after the signing of the treaties, when the idea of overthrowing the shogunate finally entered the conversation; Harootunian, *Toward Restoration,* 135.
36. Tatebayashi, *Kurosawa Rikkyō,* 7.
37. *Koromode,* literally "sleeve," is a pillow-word for Hitachi Province. Sleeves were often "drenched" (*hitasu*), which created a convenient assonance with Hitachi. *Koromode* also conveyed the notion of separation, as in "parting sleeves." Katagiri, *Utamakura utakotoba jiten,* 167.
38. The Semi River, a poem-pillow for Yamashiro Province, runs through Kyoto. Ibid., 236.
39. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kyōto toraware no fumi,* I: 20 recto.
40. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Shiki wakashū,* 8 verso.
41. *Taiʻi* is the Chinese version of the court rank *daijō daijin* (Imperial Chancellor). Nihon Daijiten Kankōkai, *Nihon kokugo daijiten* (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1972), 12:508.
42. *Heian jinbutsu shi,* available at http://tois.nichibun.ac.jp/hsis/heian-jinbutsu-shi/Heian/years_kaei5/heian663.html. The entry indicates that he already held the title of *taiʻi* in 1852.
43. Saida Koresada, Sukemasa Arima, and Masamichi Kurokawa, *Kokki* (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1911), 572.
44. *Zenʻaku [o] motte wakeru. Ōshitsu o tōtobi, iteki o shirizoke.* Ibid., 579.
45. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kyōto toraware no fumi,* II: 16 recto–16 verso. See also Gunji, *Kokon musō retsujo Tokiko,* 75, and Katsura-mura Shidankai, ed., *Katsurashi kiyō 5: Ishin no shishi tokushū* (Katsura: Katsura-mura Shidankai, 1981), 36.
46. Katsura Sonshi Hensan Iinkai*, Katsura sonshi: Tsūshi-hen,* 315. According to Nunomura Yasuhiro, Morita's visit occurred ten years prior, in 1848; on that occasion he gave Tokiko a copy of Michizane's dying instructions that bore Higashibōjō's name. Nunomura, *Meiji ishin to josei,* 103.
47. Gunji, *Kokon musō retsujo Tokiko,* 75.
48. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Shiki zatsuei* (1861–1863) (KTS, MS No. 11), 19 verso.
49. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kyoto toraware no fumi,* I: 4 verso.

50. Ivan Morris, *The Nobility of Failure: Tragic Heroes in the History of Japan* (New York: New American Library, 1975), 184.
51. Tetsuo Najita, "Ōshio Heihachirō (1793–1837)," in *Personality in Japanese History,* ed. Albert M. Craig and Donald H. Shively (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), 170–171.
52. Najita, "Ōshio Heihachirō," 172.
53. Morris, *The Nobility of Failure,* 202 and 204.
54. Gunji, *Kokon musō retsujo Tokiko,* 8.
55. Ōga Tetsuo and Takiguchi Yasuhiko, eds., *Ishinki no saijotachi* (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1980), 150.
56. Andō Tokuki, *Ishin shishi meimeiden* (Tokyo: Tōkō Shoin, 1935), 258. Another text from the same decade argues that Higashibōjō delivered the petition to the emperor; see Miwada Motomichi, ed., *Nihon josei bunkashi, chū* (Tokyo: Zenkoku Kōtōjo Gakkō Kōchō Kyōkai, 1938), 2:826.
57. Horiuchi Seiu, *Ishin hyakketsu* (Tokyo: Seikō Zasshisha, 1910), 216.
58. Nunomura, *Meiji ishin to josei,* 104.
59. Mito-shi Kyōiku Iinkai, *Mito no sendatsu,* 252. Katsura-mura Kyōiku Iinkai, *Katsura-mura kyōdoshi,* 298.
60. Tsuji Michiko, *Onnatachi no bakumatsu Kyōto* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Shinsha, 2003), 111.
61. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kyoto toraware no fumi,* I: 6 recto.

CHAPTER 5: CAGED BIRD

1. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kyōto toraware no fumi,* II: 3 verso.
2. The main version used here is the one from the KTS, MSS No. 2 and 3. For a printed version with several discrepancies from the original, see Gunji, *Kokon musō retsujo Tokiko.*
3. Daniel V. Botsman, *Punishment and Power in the Making of Modern Japan* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005), 191.
4. Diana E. Wright, "Female Crime and State Punishment in Early Modern Japan," *Journal of Women's History* 16, no. 3 (Fall 2004): 10–29.
5. Joan W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *American Historical Review* 91, no. 5 (1986): 1053–1075.
6. Yamakawa, *Women of the Mito Domain,* 30.
7. Fujii Yoshio, *Ōsaka machi bugyō to keibatsu* (Osaka: Seibundō, 1990), 340.
8. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kyōto toraware no fumi,* II: 18 verso.
9. Katsura Sonshi Hensan Iinkai, *Katsura sonshi: Tsūshi-hen,* 317–318. Gunji, *Kokon musō retsujo Tokiko,* 44–45.
10. Botsman, *Punishment and Power,* 35.
11. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kyōto toraware no fumi,* I: 8 recto.
12. Ibid., 6 recto–6 verso.
13. Ibid., 8 verso, 9 recto, and 6 recto.

14. Ibid., 8 verso.
15. Ibid., 9 recto.
16. After this stint in prison Ukyōnosuke was arrested again in 1864 for siding with the Chōshū samurai at the time of the Kinmon Incident, a battle near the imperial court in Kyoto. See Nihon Rekishi Gakkai, ed., *Meiji ishin jinmei jiten,* 1.
17. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kyōto toraware no fumi,* I: 11 recto.
18. Ibid., 17 recto.
19. Ibid.
20. Botsman, *Punishment and Power,* 36–37.
21. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kyōto toraware no fumi,* I: 17 verso. Mimura Hachirō, "Tokiko no uta, haiku," in *Katsurashi kiyō 4: Kurosawa Tokiko tokushū,* ed. Katsuramura Shidankai (Katsura: Katsura-mura Shidankai: 1979), 7–8. Tokoro Kaiji, "Toraware no fumi," in *Katsurashi kiyō 4: Kurosawa Tokiko tokushū,* ed. Katsuramura Shidankai (Katsura: Katsura-mura Shidankai: 1979), 54.
22. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Shiki wakashū,* 1 verso. A shorter version of the same poem is also included in Kurosawa Tokiko, *Shiki waka Meiji shichinen banka kichinichi* (KTS, MS No. 20), 7 recto–7 verso.
23. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kyōto toraware no fumi,* I: 17 verso–18 recto.
24. Ibid., 17 recto.
25. Ibid., 12 verso.
26. Ibid., 13 recto.
27. Anne Walthall "Fragments of Friendship: Matsuo Taseko and the Hirata Family," *Monumenta Nipponica* 64, no. 2 (Autumn 2009): 315–335. In Tokiko's case, Nunomura Yasuhiro doubts an intervention on the part of Nariaki's wife; Nunomura, *Meiji ishin to josei,* 102.
28. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kyōto toraware no fumi,* I: 13 recto.
29. Ibid., 20 verso–21 recto.
30. In the actual supplementary poem (envoy, or *hanka*) attached to the petition the first verse is slightly different, as Tokiko points out to the interrogator. It reads "for all generations" or "for all eternity" (*yorozuyo o*).
31. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kyōto toraware no fumi,* I: 24 verso.
32. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Shiki zatsuei* (1861–1863), 20 recto. The third line consists of six instead of five syllables.
33. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kyōto toraware no fumi,* II: 9 recto–10 verso; Kurosawa Tokiko, *Waka zatsuei* (1860), 16 verso–18 verso.
34. Morris, *The Nobility of Failure,* 212.
35. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kyōto toraware no fumi,* II: 20 recto.
36. Ibid., I: 16 recto.
37. Phyllis Mack, *Visionary Women: Ecstatic Prophecy in Seventeenth-Century England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 15–16.
38. Tsuji, *Onnatachi no bakumatsu Kyōto,* 122. Takahashi Norihiko, "Henkakuki o ikita josei 75 nin," in *Bakumatsu ishin o ikita 13 nin no onnatachi,* ed. Shin Jinbutsu Ōraisha (Tokyo: Shin Jinbutsu Ōraisha, 1979), 298. Nagano had worked

with Ii Naosuke, but in 1862 the shogunate relaxed the grip of the Ansei Purges, conceded amnesties, and punished many of Ii's former associates. Nagano committed suicide on 8/1. Conrad Totman, *The Collapse of the Tokugawa Bakufu, 1862–1868* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1980), 11–13.

39. Ogawa, *Bakumatsu rimenshi,* 214.
40. Sugano Noriko, "Nozomareru ishinki no joseizō," *Rekishi no riron to kyōiku* 131 (2009): 3–5.
41. Amy Stanley, *Selling Women: Prostitution, Markets, and the Household in Early Modern Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 70, 88.
42. Sugano Noriko, "Edo jidai ni okeru josei no hanzai," *Teikyō daigaku bungakubu shigakuka* 21 (February 2006): 172 and 183.
43. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kyōto toraware no fumi,* I: 14 verso.
44. Ibid., 13 verso–15 recto.
45. Ibid., 18 verso.
46. Ibid., 15 recto.
47. "Under the whole heaven, every spot is the sovereign's ground; to the borders of the sea [land], every individual is the sovereign's subject [minister]." See Earl, *Emperor and Nation in Japan,* 179.
48. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kyōto toraware no fumi,* I: 16 recto–16 verso.
49. See Earl, *Emperor and Nation in Japan,* 94 and 179.
50. Ibid., 180 and 189–190. Shōin would criticize the shogun in his later years. Ibid., 190 and 203–210.
51. Cited in ibid., 181.
52. Janine Sawada, *Practical Pursuits: Religion, Politics, and Personal Cultivation in Nineteenth-Century Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004), 22–23.
53. Kurosawa Tokiko*, Kyōto toraware no fumi,* II: 14 recto–14 verso.
54. Ibid., I: 13 verso.
55. Ibid., 23 verso.
56. Kanda Shigeru, *Nihon tenmon shiryō* (Tokyo: Hara Shobō, 1978), 2:480–601.
57. Walthall, *The Weak Body of a Useless Woman,* 109. See also Walthall "Fragments of Friendship": 315–335.
58. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kyōto toraware no fumi,* I: 15 recto, 16 verso.
59. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Ansei gonen nikkichō,* entries for 9/2 and 9/3.

CHAPTER 6: THE CHAOS AND COSMOS OF KUROSAWA TOKIKO

1. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kyōto toraware no fumi,* I: 18 verso.
2. Katsura Sonshi Hensan Iinkai*, Katsura sonshi: Tsūshi-hen,* 295.
3. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Ansei gonen nikkichō,* entries for 7/3, 7/16, and 8/16.
4. Koike, "Hokiden no igi," 298.
5. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kyōto toraware no fumi,* II: 22 recto.
6. Tokiko called Shibu Pass "snow hell" (*yuki no jigoku*) in *Kikō,* 14 recto.

7. Wilbur Hansen discusses a similar cosmology in the writings of Hirata Atsutane. However, Atsutane was more interested in denunciation than in resolution, and excluded women from his vision. Wilbur Hansen, *When Tengu Talk: Hirata Atsutane's Ethnography of the Other World* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008).
8. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Shinmei ryakki* (KTS, MS No. 4).
9. Ibid., 8 verso–9 verso.
10. Ibid., 28 recto–28 verso.
11. Masuda Wataru, *Japan and China: Mutual Representations in the Modern Era* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 92–93.
12. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Shinmei ryakki,* 28 verso.
13. Blacker, *The Catalpa Bow,* 247–248.
14. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kyōto toraware no fumi,* I: 24 recto.
15. Wright, "Female Crime and State Punishment": 16.
16. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kyōto toraware no fumi,* I: 25 recto–25 verso.
17. Roberts, *Performing the Great Peace,* 38–39.
18. See for example Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kyōto toraware no fumi,* I: 14 recto and 17 verso. On other occasions, while conversing with her interrogators, Tokiko refers to Nariaki as "domain lord" (*hōkun*); ibid., I: 16 recto and *Kikō,* 2 verso.
19. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kyōto toraware no fumi,* II: 3 recto–3 verso.
20. Ibid., 4 recto.
21. Morris, *The Nobility of Failure,* 41–66.
22. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kyoto toraware no fumi,* II: 9 recto–10 verso.
23. Robert Borgen, *Sugawara no Michizane and the Early Heian Court* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986), 326.
24. Harootunian, *Toward Restoration,* 285 and 288.
25. Borgen, *Sugawara no Michizane,* 20 and 134.
26. Ibid., 275–277; Morris, *The Nobility of Failure,* 53–54.
27. Borgen, *Sugawara no Michizane,* 296. For a translation of the entire poem, see Helen Craig McCullough, *Brocade by Night: 'Kokin Wakashū' and the Court Style in Japanese Classical Poetry* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1985), 279–284.
28. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kyōto toraware no fumi,* II: 4 verso–5 recto.
29. Wright, "Female Crime and State Punishment": 11.
30. Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo, *Ishin shiryō kōyō* (1937), 3:171. Shinsuke indicates Sukenobu Hōin.
31. Katsura-mura Kyōiku Iinkai, *Katsura-mura kyōdoshi,* 298.
32. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kyōto toraware no fumi,* II: 8 verso and 11 verso.
33. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Tōkaidō gojūsantsugi no uta* (KTS, MS No. 30), 3 recto.
34. *"Kimi ga tame / kakeshi chikai wa / Kanaya to te / kago no uchi ni mo / inoru akekure."* Ibid., 3 verso.

35. Suzuki Tōzō and Koike Shōtarō, eds., *Fujiokaya nikki,* in *Kinsei shomin seikatsu shiryō* (Tokyo: San'ichi Shobō, 1990), 8:543–544. See also Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo, *Ishin shiryō kōyō* (1937), 3:179.
36. Fujiokaya lists their names: Finance Magistrate Ikeda Yorikata, City Magistrate Ishigaya Atsukiyo, Temple and Shrine Magistrate Matsudaira Munehide, Chief Inspector (*ōmetsuke*) Kugai Masanori, and Inspector (*metsuke*) Matsudaira Kyūnojō Yasumasa. Suzuki and Koike, eds., *Fujiokaya nikki,* 8:543–544.
37. Ibid., 543. Kuki Nagato no Kami Takayoshi (1837–1891) was the lord of Mita domain in Settsu; Toda (Matsudaira) Tanba no Kami Mitsuhisa (1832–1892), the lord of Matsumoto domain. See Nihon Rekishi Gakkai, ed., *Meiji ishin jinmei jiten,* 349 and 670.
38. Helen Hardacre, *Kurozumikyō and the New Religions of Japan* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), 4–5. Helen Hardacre, *Shintō and the State, 1868–1988* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989), 53. See also Carmen Blacker, "Millenarian Aspects of the New Religions in Japan," in *Tradition and Modernization in Japanese Culture,* ed. Donald H. Shively (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1971), 567–571.
39. For example Nakayama Miki (Tenrikyō) and Akazawa Bunji (Konkōkyō). Miyake Hitoshi, *Shugendō,* 107.
40. Tenrikyo, *Ofudesaki: The Tip of the Writing Brush* (Nara: Tenri Jihosha, 1993), 122.
41. Emily Groszos Ooms, *Women and Millenarian Protest in Meiji Japan: Deguchi Nao and Ōmotokyō* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993), 3 and 63–64.
42. Tenrikyo, *The Life of Oyasama*, *Foundress of Tenrikyo* (Nara: Tenrikyo Church Headquarters, 1996), 86–87.
43. Miyake, "Religious Rituals in Shugendō": 105. Blacker, *The Catalpa Bow.*
44. Stalker, *Prophet Motive,* 35. Hardacre, *Kurozumikyō,* 78–79.
45. Modern Kurozumikyō sermons, for example, admonish that "we dwell here in the heavenly land" and "the age of the gods is now"; Hardacre, *Kurozumikyō,* 80 and 94. On how established religions in the Tokugawa period focused less on theological abstractions and more on offering tangible benefits, see Duncan Ryūken Williams, *The Other Side of Zen: A Social History of Sōtō Zen Buddhism in Tokugawa Japan* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005). For contemporary examples see Ian Reader and George J. Tanabe Jr., *Practically Religious: Worldly Benefits and the Common Religion of Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998).
46. Tenrikyo, *The Life of Oyasama,* 7; Ooms, *Women and Millenarian Protest in Meiji Japan,* 86.
47. Hardacre, *Kurozumikyō,* 198.
48. Stalker, *Prophet Motive,* 26.
49. Tenrikyo, *Ofudesaki,* 15.
50. Robert J. Smith, *Ancestor Worship in Contemporary Japan* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1974), 40–49; Helen Hardacre, *Marketing the Menacing Fetus in Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 2.

51. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kyōto toraware no fumi,* II: 15 verso.
52. Ibid., I: 7 recto.
53. Hardacre, *Kurozumikyō,* 12 and 13 (fig. 1).
54. Ibid., 29–30 and 52–53.
55. Sawada, *Practical Pursuits,* 29 and 42–50. Good fortune is also beckoned with lucky objects; see Reader and Tanabe, *Practically Religious,* 46.
56. Aizawa Seishisai had spoken of the country as a body (*shintai*) in his 1825 *New Theses* (*Shinron*). Noriko J. Horiguchi, *Women Adrift: The Literature of Japan's Imperial Body* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), 1.
57. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kyōto toraware no fumi,* II: 7 verso.
58. Ibid., 21 verso–22 recto.
59. Sasaki Nobutsuna, *Nomura Bōtō-ni zenshū* (Atami: Nomura Bōtō-ni Zenshū Kankōkai, 1958), 704–705 (letter n. 68).
60. Ibid., 689–693 (letter n. 61).
61. Gregory M. Pflugfelder, *Cartographies of Desire: Male-Male Sexuality in Japanese Discourse, 1600–1950* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 238.
62. See for example Sasaki, *Nomura Bōtō-ni zenshū,* 737–738 (letter n. 87) and 738–740 (letter n. 88).
63. Ibid., 729 (letter n. 81) and 761 (letter n. 101).
64. Nomura Bōtō, "Bōshū nikki," in *Nomura Bōtō-ni zenshū,* ed. Sasaki Nobutsuna (Atami: Nomura Bōtō-ni Zenshū Kankōkai, 1958), 565; Sasaki Nobutsuna and Ōkubo Takaaki, eds., *Bōtō-ni kabunshū* (Fukuoka: Morioka Kumahiko, 1911), 366.
65. Nomura Bōtō, "Bōshū nikki," 565; Sasaki and Ōkubo, eds., *Bōtō-ni kabunshū,* 366 (where this verse reads "*kimi mamoruramu*").
66. For example see Sasaki, *Nomura Bōtō-ni zenshū,* 357, 644; Sasaki and Ōkubo, eds., *Bōtō-ni kabunshū,* 268.
67. Walthall, *The Weak Body of a Useless Woman,* 117, 170, 171, 225, 228, 231. The reference to Rengetsu is on 233.
68. Credit for this pun goes to David Howell.

CHAPTER 7: TRANSITIONS

1. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kyōto toraware no fumi,* II: 15 verso.
2. Wright, "Female Crime and State Punishment": 14.
3. Thomas M. Huber, *The Revolutionary Origins of Modern Japan* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1981), 89.
4. Botsman, *Punishment and Power,* 61–64, 73, and 78.
5. The other Mito woman incarcerated with Tokiko was Sei, the wife of Mito retainer Dazai Seiuemon (1829–1864). Seiuemon, implicated in the clashes over the emperor's secret decree, had fled after receiving orders to turn himself in on 1858/10/3; fifteen days later, the Tokugawa authorities had taken Sei into custody. Ibaraki Kenshi Hensan Bakumatsu Ishinshi Bukai, *Ibaraki-ken bakumatsushi nenpyō* (Mito: Ibaraki-ken, 1973), 111; Nihon Rekishi Gakkai, ed., *Meiji ishin jinmei jiten,* 590.

6. Yoshida Shōin had arrived at Tenmachō on 7/9. Other loyalists cross-examined that day included Hasegawa Sōemon, Hasegawa Hayami, Yoshimi Chōzaemon, Fujimori Kōsuke, Katsuno Mokunosuke, and Katsuno Magozaburō.
7. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kyōto toraware no fumi,* II: 18 verso.
8. Ibid., 19 recto.
9. Ibid., 20 recto–20 verso.
10. According to *Katsura-mura kyōdoshi* the sentencing read: "Slandering high level officials was outrageous. Therefore, she is sentenced to medium banishment." Katsura-mura Kyōiku Iinkai, *Katsura-mura kyōdoshi,* 299. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kyōto toraware no fumi,* II: 19 verso–20 verso. See also Suzuki and Koike, eds., *Fujiokaya nikki,* 9:35; Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo, *Ishin shiryō kōyō* (1937), 3:230.
11. Fujii, *Ōsaka machi bugyō to keibatsu,* 358.
12. Sugano Noriko adds gambling, false accusations, and usury. Sugano, "Edo jidai ni okeru josei no hanzai": 186. To understand the Tokugawa government's interest in, and extensive policies regarding, forests and woodlands, see Conrad Totman, *The Green Archipelago: Forestry in Pre-Industrial Japan* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1998), chapter 4.
13. Fujii, *Ōsaka machi bugyō to keibatsu,* 366–370.
14. Ibid., 358–359 and 364.
15. Ōsaka Shishi Hensanjo, ed., *Ōsaka machi bugyōsho yoriki, dōshin gonbō kiroku* (Osaka: Ōsaka Shiryō Chōsakai, 1995), 63–64. Fujii, *Ōsaka machi bugyō to keibatsu,* 359–360.
16. Fujii, *Ōsaka machi bugyō to keibatsu,* 359.
17. Ibid., 363.
18. Ibid., 360.
19. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kyōto toraware no fumi,* II: 19 verso–20 verso.
20. *Chūtsuihō okamai basho* (KTS, MS No. 43). For a printed version, see Nagasawa, *Nyonin waka taikei 3,* 552–553.
21. Fujii, *Ōsaka machi bugyō to keibatsu,* 362.
22. See Botsman, *Punishment and Power,* especially chapter 4.
23. Katsura Sonshi Hensan Iinkai, *Katsura sonshi: Tsūshi-hen,* 305–307.
24. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Shiki randai waka* (KTS, MS No. 16), 16 recto; Kurosawa Tokiko, *Waka zatsuei* (KTS, MS No. 18), 3 recto; Kurosawa Tokiko, *Tōki randai* (KTS, MS No. 21), 4 recto.
25. Fujii, *Ōsaka machi bugyō to keibatsu,* 364.
26. Roberts, *Performing the Great Peace,* 8.
27. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kyōto toraware no fumi,* II: 28 recto. See also Katsura Sonshi Hensan Iinkai, *Katsura sonshi: Tsūshi-hen,* 293.
28. Suzuki and Koike, eds., *Fujiokaya nikki,* 8:608.
29. Nakai, "Introduction," xii.
30. Katsura Sonshi Hensan Iinkai, *Katsura sonshi: Tsūshi-hen,* 320–321.
31. Koschmann, "Action as a Text," 85; Koschmann, *The Mito Ideology,* 143.

32. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Shiki randai waka zatsuei* (KTS, MS No. 13), 10 recto–10 verso.
33. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Shiki waka Meiji shichinen,* 8 recto. There are six syllables instead of seven in the second line.
34. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Waka zatsuei* (1860), 18 verso. With a minor variation the same poem is included in another collection she composed in 1874: Kurosawa Tokiko, *Tōki randai* (1874), 4 recto. Three years after Nariaki's death Tokiko wrote:

Kimi masa de	For you, my lord,
akekure sode o	I have been squeezing
shiboritsutsu	my sleeves [wet with tears]
sannen sugi ni shi	for the past three years,
yume no yo no naka	as if in a dream.

Kurosawa Tokiko, *Shiki zatsuei* (1861–1863), 10 verso.
35. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kyōto toraware no fumi,* II: 22 recto. Tokiko's youngest daughter, Teruko, had married the doctor Iwama Tōan, whom the Kurosawa took in as an adopted heir. Tatebayashi, *Kurosawa Rikkyō,* 36.
36. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Waka zatsuei* (1860), 2 recto.
37. For example:

Uguisu no	On Earless Mountain
miminashi yama ni	a nightingale
ki kakurete	hidden amidst the trees:
oi no ukine o	nobody hears
kiku hito mo nashi	the sad sound of aging.

Ibid., 2 verso. "Earless Mountain" refers to *Kokinshū* poem no. 1026.
38. For example see Anzō, "Onna terakoya shishō no seikatsu" (2004): 107; Kanamori, "Kurosawa Toki": 124; Anzō, "Nikki ni miru Genji kinoenone no ran": 60–61.
39. Borgen, *Sugawara no Michizane,* 184.
40. Katsura-mura Kyōiku Iinkai, *Katsura-mura kyōdoshi,* 300.
41. Takaha Sei'emon, *Oazukari mōsu kinsu no koto* (KKM, Box No. 6, MS No. 1054); Tōkichi, *Shakuyō mōsu kinsu no koto* (KKM, Box No. 6, MS No. 1055); and Tōkichi, *Shakuyō mōsu kinsu tegata no koto* (KKM, Box No. 6, MS No. 1056). Each refers to loans of one *ryō.*
42. Harootunian, *Toward Restoration,* 42. Examples include the Teradaya Incident of 1862, the rise of Tenchūgumi and the Ikuno uprising in 1863, and the Kinmon and Namamugi incidents of 1864. Ibid., 280.
43. Totman, *The Collapse of the Tokugawa Bakufu,* xxii. The second watershed year according to Totman was 1866, when Chōshū defeated the shogunate.

44. Harootunian, *Toward Restoration,* 252 and 258.
45. Totman, *The Collapse of the Tokugawa Bakufu,* xvii.
46. Nomura Bōtō, "Kōryōshū," 261 and 273.
47. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Nichiyō chōhōki* (1864), 4 recto. Koibuchi Takeo, "Suzugōya o chūshin to shite mita bakumatsu no arashi," in *Katsurashi kiyō 5: Ishin no shishi tokushū,* ed. Katsura-mura Shidankai (Katsura: Katsura-mura Shidankai: 1981), 16–17.
48. Nakai, "Introduction," xvi–xvii.
49. Anzō, "Nikki ni miru Genji kinoenone no ran": 53.
50. Akutsu, "Genjiki ni okeru sonjōha nōmin no dōkō ni tsuite": 35–36.
51. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Nichiyō chōhōki* (1864), 4 verso and 7 recto.
52. Totman, *The Collapse of the Tokugawa Bakufu,* 114–115.
53. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Nichiyō chōhōki* (1864), 11 verso and 12 verso.
54. Ibid., 10 verso.
55. Ibid., 21 recto.
56. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Shiki randai waka zatsuei,* 5 recto.
57. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Nichiyō chōhōki* (1864), 16 recto. *Ukibito* may also mean "those who suffer." The same poem appears in Kurosawa Tokiko, *Shiki randai waka zatsuei,* 3 verso.
58. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Shiki randai waka zatsuei,* 5 recto.
59. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Nichiyō chōhōki* (1864), 9 verso.
60. Ibid., 11 recto.
61. For example, "six three" means "the third line from the bottom is broken, or a yin"; "nine five" means "the fifth line from the bottom is solid, a yang"; "beginning six" means "the bottom line is a yin." See Takada Shinji and Gotō Motomi, eds., *Ekikyō* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2008), 1:33.
62. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Nichiyō chōhōki* (1864), 13 recto.
63. Ibid.
64. Ng, "Study and Uses of the *I Ching* in Tokugawa Japan": 24–44.
65. See Harootunian, *Toward Restoration,* 165–166.
66. In Tsuji, *Onnatachi no bakumatsu Kyōto,* 101.
67. Wilhelm, *The I Ching,* 25. Another translation reads, "With the sincerity which is declared in it, there will be brilliant success. With firmness there will be good fortune." James Legge, trans., *I Ching or Book of Changes* (Whitefish, MT: Kessinger Publishing, 2003), 66.
68. Michael Dylan Foster, *Pandemonium and Parade: Japanese Monsters and the Culture of Yōkai* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 9.
69. Wilhelm, *The I Ching,* 62–65.
70. Totman, *The Collapse of the Tokugawa Bakufu,* 121.
71. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Nichiyō chōhōki* (1864), 23 recto.
72. Nakai, "Introduction," xviii.
73. For various poems on the grief Tokiko experienced at the time, see Kurosawa Tokiko, *Waka zatsuei* (1871–1872), 6 recto.

74. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Shiki zatsuei* (KTS, MS No. 17), 7 verso–8 recto. *Narasu* means "make them emit a sound."

CHAPTER 8: RESCUING THE PAST FROM THE PRESENT

1. Mimura, "Tokiko no uta, haiku," 19.
2. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Tōki randai* (1874), 19 verso.
3. Sawada, *Practical Pursuits,* 89. Before the Meiji era, *shūkyō* indicated Buddhist sectarian doctrines; it came to signify "religion" in the broader sense with Fukuzawa Yukichi and Mori Arinori in the mid-1870s; ibid., 102.
4. Ketelaar, *Of Heretics and Martyrs,* 50–53.
5. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Shiki wakashū,* 14 verso. See also Mimura, "Tokiko no uta, haiku," 11.
6. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Tōki randai* (1874), 18 verso–19 recto.
7. Ibid., 18 recto.
8. Sawada, *Practical Pursuits,* 93–94.
9. Ibid., 94–95.
10. Platt, *Burning and Building,* 137.
11. Gunji, *Kokon musō retsujo Tokiko,* 9. The document does not indicate who the three witnesses were.
12. Joshi Gakushūin, ed., *Joryū chosaku kaidai,* 566; Nagasawa, *Nyonin waka taikei 3,* 553; Gunji, *Kokon musō retsujo Tokiko,* 9–10.
13. *Shūshinroku osumitsuki* in KTS.
14. Cited in Haga, *Bakumatsu shishi no seikatsu,* 178.
15. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kaki eisō* (KTS, MS No. 22), 3 recto and 4 recto. Katsuramura Kyōiku Iinkai, *Katsura-mura kyōdoshi,* 300.
16. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kaki eisō,* 8 verso.
17. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Shiki waka Meiji shichinen,* 8 recto.
18. Tatebayashi, *Kurosawa Rikkyō,* 114.
19. Foster, *Pandemonium and Parade,* 95.
20. Katsura Sonshi Hensan Iinkai, *Katsura sonshi: Tsūshi-hen,* 385.
21. Sugawara Toshikiyo, Tokieda Tsutomu, and Nakayama Kaoru, eds., *Kiso no Ontakesan: Sono rekishi to shinkō* (Tokyo: Iwata Shoin, 2009), 25–59.
22. Blacker, *The Catalpa Bow,* 282–283.
23. Sawada, *Practical Pursuits,* 192.
24. Sarah Thal, *Rearranging the Landscape of the Gods: The Politics of a Pilgrimage Site in Japan, 1573–1912* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 134–135, 142, and 163.
25. Hardacre, *Shintō and the State,* 7–8, 42–59, and 68–72.
26. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kikō,* 23 recto.
27. Sugawara et al., eds., *Kiso no Ontakesan,* 113.
28. Ibid., 118.
29. Ketelaar, *Of Heretics and Martyrs,* 85.

30. Thal, *Rearranging the Landscape of the Gods,* 203–204.
31. Otori Sessō, *Fukyō ninka sōrō [no] koto* (KKM, Box No. 5, MS No. 953); Kurosawa Tokiko, *Shintō Ontakekyō kyōkaisho secchigan (*KKM, Box No. 5, MS No. 955).
32. Hardacre, *Shintō and the State,* 69 and 78.
33. See KKM, Box No. 5, MSS No. 953–955. Tokiko's request is titled *Fukyō ninkagan* (Request for Authorization to Proselytize), Box No. 5, MS No. 954. See also Katsura Sonshi Hensan Iinkai, *Katsura sonshi: Tsūshi-hen,* 385.
34. Maki Fukuoka, "Selling Portrait Photographs: Early Photographic Business in Asakusa, Japan," *History of Photography* 35, no. 4 (2011): 355–373.
35. See W. Theodore De Bary, Carol Gluck, and Arthur E. Tiedemann, *Sources of Japanese Tradition, Volume 2, Part 2: 1868–2000* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 79.
36. Kokaze Hidemasa, "The Political Space of Meiji 22 (1889): The Promulgation of the Constitution and the Birth of the Nation," *Japan Review* 23 (2011): 119.
37. Ibid., 119–137; the quotation appears on 137.
38. None of the major newspapers published in 1889 reported the news, making it impossible to establish a precise date.
39. Blacker, *The Catalpa Bow,* 38–39.
40. Saiki, "Kurosawa Tokiko no shōzō shashin": 21–36.
41. Tatebayashi Miyatarō offers a slightly different version of the poem in *Kurosawa Rikkyō,* 98:

Kimigayo ni	For our lord's reign
tateshi misao no	you raised a clear mirror
masukagami	of devotion
nao yukusue mo	which may shine
terimasaruran	to the end of time.

The general meaning, however, is not affected.
42. Saiki, "Kurosawa Tokiko no shōzō shashin": 24.
43. Kurosawa Tokiko, *Kyōto toraware no fumi,* I: 24 verso.
44. Allen Hockley, "Packaged Tours: Photo Albums and Their Implications for the Study of Early Japanese Photography," in *Reflecting Truth: Japanese Photography in the Nineteenth Century,* ed. Nicole Coolidge Rousmaniere and Mikiko Hirayama (Amsterdam: Hotei Publishing, 2004), 67.
45. Margarita Winkel, *Souvenirs from Japan: Japanese Photography at the Turn of the Century* (London: Bamboo Publishing, 1991), 31.

CHAPTER 9: THE MANY REINCARNATIONS OF KUROSAWA TOKIKO

1. Sharon H. Nolte and Sally Ann Hastings, "The Meiji State's Policy toward Women, 1890–1910," in *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600–1945,* ed. Gail Lee

Bernstein (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 158; Walthall, *The Weak Body of a Useless Woman,* 334.

2. Sheldon Garon, "Women's Groups and the Japanese State: Contending Approaches to Political Integration, 1890–1945," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 19, no. 1 (1993): 10.
3. Mara Patessio, "Readers and Writers: Japanese Women and Magazines in the Late Nineteenth Century," in *The Female as Subject: Reading and Writing in Early Modern Japan,* ed. P. F. Kornicki, Mara Patessio, and G. G. Rowley (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 2010), 192–193.
4. Garon, "Women's Groups and the Japanese State": 10.
5. Nolte and Hastings, "The Meiji State's Policy toward Women," 154–155. Women would be excluded from political meetings until 1922 and from political organizations until 1945.
6. Horiguchi, *Women Adrift,* 33.
7. Nolte and Hastings, "The Meiji State's Policy toward Women," 157.
8. Gerald Figal, *Civilization and Monsters: Spirits of Modernity in Meiji Japan* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), 7.
9. Tenrikyo, *The Life of Oyasama,* 100, 90, and 172.
10. Foster, *Pandemonium and Parade,* 85–87 and 108. In *kokkuri*, three or four people would sit around a makeshift round table, summoning the spirits and asking them questions. Ibid., 85.
11. Michael Wert, *Meiji Restoration Losers: Memory and Tokugawa Supporters in Modern Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013).
12. The first, by Kashiwada, does not include page numbers; the second goes from page 1 to page 2. After that, the main text restarts at page 1.
13. Gunji, *Kokon musō retsujo Tokiko,* introduction by Sekito, 1 and 4.
14. Ibid., introduction by Sekito, 2.
15. Shimomura Miyokichi, "Kurosawa Tokiko-den hoi," pt. 1, *Fujin to kodomo* 3, no. 12 (December 1903): 40.
16. Shimomura Miyokichi, "Kurosawa Tokiko," pt. 2, *Fujin to kodomo* 2, no. 11 (November 1902): 27.
17. Ibid., 28.
18. Ibid., pt. 3, *Fujin to kodomo* 2, no. 12 (December 1902): 36; ibid., pt. 4, *Fujin to kodomo* 3, no. 4 (April 1903): 33–34.
19. Ibid., pt. 3: 36; ibid., pt. 4: 33–34.
20. Hagiwara Shōtarō, *Kinnō resshiden* (Tokyo: Ōzorasha, 1995).
21. "Zōi," *Asahi shinbun,* November 16, 1907, Tokyo morning edition, 4; "Zōi gosata," *Yomiuri shinbun,* November 16, 1907, morning edition, 2.
22. Ibaraki Shinbunsha, ed., *Ibaraki-ken hyakka jiten,* 17; Tatebayashi, *Kurosawa Rikkyō,* 127.
23. Ibaraki Shinbunsha, ed., *Ibaraki-ken hyakka jiten,* 17.
24. Hitachi no Kuni Higashi Ibaraki-gun Iwabune-mura Ōaza Suzugoya Zōi Shukusai Jimusho, *Waka konsei* (KKM, Box No. 3, MS No. 371).

25. *Hōji no tsūchi* (KKM, Box No. 2, MS No. 92).
26. KKM, Box No. 2, MSS Nos. 161–164. In 1902 Takasu Kōzō had coauthored *Lectures and Notes from the Kōdōkan* (*Kōdōkan kikōgi*).
27. Tatebayashi, *Kurosawa Rikkyō,* 7. A similar trend occurred with Matsuo Taseko, with a first "Taseko boom" around 1900–1913, a lull in the Taishō era, and a second boom between 1936 and 1943, when Taseko became a model of patriotic loyalty. See Walthall, *The Weak Body of a Useless Woman,* chapter 16.
28. Arima Sukemasa, *Kinnō bunko* (Tokyo: Dai Nihon Meidōkan, 1919).
29. One example is the relatively nondescript entry in Tajiri Tasuku, *Sōi shokenden* (Tokyo: Kondō Shuppansha, 1975, first ed. 1927), 1:421.
30. Shakai Kyōiku Kyōkai, ed., *Kinnō bunko 5: Kinnōka shishū* (Tokyo: Shakai Kyōiku Kyōkai, 1921), 83–85.
31. Horiuchi, *Ishin hyakketsu,* 215–216.
32. Miwada, ed., *Nihon josei bunkashi, chū,* 801.
33. Sarah Frederick, *Turning Pages: Reading and Writing Women's Magazines in Interwar Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), 93.
34. Yoshikawa, "Aikoku josei emonogatari": 49–61. For Tokiko see ibid.: 52–53.
35. Frederick, *Turning Pages,* 84.
36. Nunomura, *Meiji ishin to josei,* 101–102.
37. Ibid., introduction, 1.
38. Ibid., 6.
39. Miwada, ed., *Nihon josei bunkashi, chū,* 801.
40. Ibid., 823.
41. Ogawa, *Bakumatsu rimenshi,* 9–13.
42. Sasaki, *Nomura Bōtō-ni zenshū,* 713 (letter n. 73) and 490–491. For a photograph of the copy of the sutra see photo insert on 4.
43. Frederick, *Turning Pages,* 94, 97–98, and 103.
44. Ibid., 100.
45. Yoshikawa, "Aikoku josei emonogatari": 52.
46. Ibid.: 52–53.
47. Frederick, *Turning Pages,* 91.
48. Ibid., 42 and 46. Frederick cites articles from 1916 in both cases.
49. Ronald P. Loftus, "Female Self-Writing: Takamure Itsue's *Hi no Kuni no Onna no Nikki,*" *Monumenta Nipponica* 51, no. 2 (1996): 159.
50. Frederick, *Turning Pages,* 51.
51. Susan Tennant, trans., *The 1918 Shikoku Pilgrimage of Takamure Itsue: An English Translation of* Musume junreiki (Bowen Island, BC: Bowen Publishing, 2010), 9, 27, and 156.
52. Ibid., 156 and 51.
53. Loftus, "Female Self-Writing": 161.
54. Tennant, *The 1918 Shikoku Pilgrimage of Takamure Itsue,* 49, 54, and 145.

55. Takamure, *Dai Nihon josei jinmei jisho,* 185–186. The dates of birth and death are based on the imperial calendar, which starts with the reign of legendary first emperor, Jinmu.
56. Miwada, ed., *Nihon josei bunkashi, chū,* 823.

CHAPTER 10: CIRCLES REDRAWN

1. Tatebayashi Miyatarō, ed., *Rikkyōjoshi to kenjō no chōka* (Akasaka, Ibaraki-ken: Rikkyōkai, 1937).
2. Tokoro, "Toraware no fumi," 48. Joshi Gakushūin, ed., *Joryū chosaku kaidai,* 26–27.
3. Tatebayashi Miyatarō, *Mitogaku kenkyū* (Tokyo: Shinkōasha, 1943), 321.
4. Rikkyōkai, *Rikkyōkai shuisho* (Akasaka, Ibaraki-ken: Rikkyōkai, 1937).
5. See for example Sakamoto Sakyō, *Rikkyōkai kyōsangan* (KKM, Box No. 3, MS No. 239).
6. Tatebayashi also praised Tokiko as "the ideal Japanese woman," "a loyalist heroine," and "the role model of the woman modern Japan needs." Tatebayashi, *Kurosawa Rikkyō,* 4. Anzō, "Kurosawa Tokiko no shōgai to shisō": 61.
7. Tatebayashi, ed., *Rikkyōjoshi to kenjō no chōka.* In 1943 Tatebayashi again described Tokiko as "a great authority" in *Mitogaku kenkyū,* 272.
8. The other is Nomura Bōtō.
9. Andō, *Ishin shishi meimeiden,* 255–259.
10. An identical argument is included in Tatebayashi, *Kurosawa Rikkyō,* 1.
11. Ibid., 18.
12. Ibid., 25 and 48.
13. Ibid., 4–5.
14. Sumiko Otsubo and James R. Bartholomew, "Eugenics in Japan: Some Ironies of Modernity, 1883–1945," *Science in Context* 11, nos. 3–4 (1998): 552–554.
15. Ibid., 546.
16. Horiguchi, *Women Adrift,* 15.
17. Tatebayashi, *Kurosawa Rikkyō,* 41–43.
18. Ibid., 43–44.
19. Wert, *Meiji Restoration Losers,* 74.
20. For the request for permission to erect the monument sent to Mito chief of police Iwasaki Zen'ichirō, see Sakamoto Sakyō and Tatebayashi Miyatarō, *Hihyō kensetsu kyokagan* (KKM, Box No. 5, MS No. 956). For the various documents regarding the remission of late payments to Kanahara Hikoroku, the Mito stone supplier, see Sakamoto Sakyō, *Keiyakusho* (KKM, Box No. 5, MS No. 976-1); and Sakamoto Sakyō, letters to Kurosawa Minesaburō and Kurosawa Kameichi (KKM, Box No. 5, MSS Nos. 976-2 through 976-7).

21. A letter dated 1937/2/14 reveals that Minesaburō's grandson, Kurosawa Seiichi, who was living in Tokyo, would not be able to attend. Kurosawa Seiichi, *Kenpi jomakushiki no hi kesseki no henji* (KKM, Box No. 2, MS No. 128).
22. Sakamoto Sakyō, *Shikiji* (KKM, Box No. 2, MS No. 165); Tasaki Gishichi, *Shukuji* (KKM, Box No. 2, MS No. 166); Shima Mitsunosuke, *Saishi* (KKM, Box No. 2, MS No. 167); Ishikawa Masasumi, *Norito* (KKM, Box No 2, MS No. 168); Matsuoka Hidekuni, *Shikiji* (KKM, Box No. 2, MS No. 169); and Yamazaki Takayoshi, *Shukuji* (KKM, Box No. 2, MS No. 170).
23. Tanaka Mitsuaki, letter to Tatebayashi Miyatarō, February 26, 1937. Author's personal collection.
24. Wert, *Meiji Restoration Losers,* 87.

CHAPTER 11: ENCORES

1. Funabashi Seiichi, *Hana no shōgai* (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1961). Originally published in installments in *Asahi shinbun*. In the televised version, actress Yamaoka Hisano (1926–1999) played Tokiko.
2. Noguchi Fujio, "Kaisetsu," in Funabashi Seiichi, *Funabashi Seiichishū* (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1971), 557 and 560.
3. Kurosawa Fukashi, *Funabashi Seiichi to Mito* (Mito: Kaikyō no Kai, 1979), 120. Kurosawa indeed argues that the years in Mito were one of three formative elements in Funabashi's growth as an author along with his grandmother's influence and his childhood years in Yokoamichō. Ibid., 10.
4. On page 607 of the 740-page Shinchōsha edition.
5. Nagano Shuzen (1815–1862) had directed the Ansei Purges on behalf of Ii.
6. Funabashi, *Hana no shōgai,* 607 and 633–634.
7. Ibid., 637.
8. Ibid., 639.
9. Ibid., 673 and 676.
10. Botsman, *Punishment and Power,* 38.
11. Funabashi, *Hana no shōgai,* 715–720.
12. Ibid., 666 and 640.
13. Mark Silver, *Purloined Letters: Cultural Borrowing and Japanese Crime Literature, 1868–1937* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 41 and 23. Similarly, Sari Kawana has argued that detective fiction helped exorcise the fears engendered by Taishō modernity. Sari Kawana, *Murder Most Modern: Detective Fiction and Japanese Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008).
14. Carol Gluck, "The Past in the Present," in *Postwar Japan as History,* ed. Andrew Gordon (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 69.
15. Kathleen S. Uno, "The Death of the 'Good Wife, Wise Mother'?," in *Postwar Japan as History,* ed. Andrew Gordon (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 294.

16. Wert, *Meiji Restoration Losers,* 111.
17. In drawing this parallel, I depart from the analysis of Kurosawa Fukashi, who argues that Meiji-style poison women simply do not appear in Funabashi's oeuvre. Kurosawa, *Funabashi Seiichi to Mito,* 192. Kurosawa may have focused on Funabashi's main characters only, overlooking the extras.
18. For the cultural climate of the unstable years between 1945 and 1960, see Ann Sherif, *Japan's Cold War: Media, Literature, and the Law* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009).
19. "Kurosawa Toki o eigaka e," *Ibaraki shinbun,* 35.
20. I am grateful to Gotō Norio for sharing with me a copy of the draft.
21. William D. Hoover, *Historical Dictionary of Postwar Japan* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2011), 160.
22. For an enlightening article connecting contemporary education and the labor market, see David H. Slater, "The Making of Japan's New Working Class: 'Freeters' and the Progression From Middle School to the Labor Market," *The Asia-Pacific Journal*, January 4, 2010, http://www.japanfocus.org/-david_h_-slater/3279.
23. "Since the 'lost decade' began," writes Michael Wert, "everyone from political pundits to local memory activists has invoked the late Tokugawa period as a model for solving Japan's contemporary problems." Wert, *Meiji Restoration Losers,* 139. For an example of a different idealized past, see Jordan Sand, "Showa Nostalgia," *Weekend Australian Financial Review,* April 5–9, 2007, 1–4.
24. Mark R. Mullins, "Religion in Contemporary Japanese Lives," in *Routledge Handbook of Japanese Culture and Society,* ed. Victoria Lyon Bestor and Theodore C. Bestor with Akiko Yamagata (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), 71.
25. Ibid., 63.

CONCLUSION

1. Koibuchi, "Suzugoya o chūshin to shite mita bakumatsu no arashi," 19.
2. Ibid., 21–22.
3. Anzō, "Nikki ni miru Genji kinoenone no ran": 60.
4. See for example Tokunaga Shin'ichirō, "Shishi no haha, tsuma, koibitotachi," in *Bakumatsu ishin o ikita 13 nin no onnatachi,* ed. Shin Jinbutsu Ōraisha (Tokyo: Shin Jinbutsu Ōraisha, 1979), 74–79.
5. For the female combatants in Aizu, see Miyazaki Tomihachi, ed., *Aizu Boshin sensō shiryōshū* (Tokyo: Jinbutsu Ōraisha, 1991); Hiraishi Benzō, *Aizu Boshin sensō byakkotai jōshigun kōreisha no kentō* (Aizu Wakamatsu: Maruhachi Shōten Shuppanbu, 1928); Diana E. Wright, "Female Combatants and Japan's Meiji Restoration: The Case of Aizu," *War in History* 8, no. 4 (2001): 396–417. As Wright points out, even in this case men did not react kindly to the female intrusion into their turf and denied the Women's Army permission to join their forces because "if the enemy saw Aizu women participating in combat, they

would take it as a sign of the domain's weakness and desperation." Wright, "Female Combatants": 408.

6. Walthall, *The Weak Body of a Useless Woman,* 151, 157, and 163. Taseko had been a "fervent Buddhist" but became anti-Buddhist after joining the Hirata School. Ibid., 70.
7. Mimura, "Tokiko no uta, haiku," 23.
8. Assa Doron and Ursula Rao, "From the Edge of Power: The Cultural Politics of Disadvantage in South Asia," *Asian Studies Review* 33 (December 2009): 419–428. The quotation is on 422.
9. On the idea of rupture see Nagai Michiko, "Meiji ishin wa josei ni totte nan de atta ka," in *Bakumatsu ishin o ikita 13 nin no onnatachi,* ed. Shin Jinbutsu Ōraisha (Tokyo: Shin Jinbutsu Ōraisha, 1979), 46.
10. In the late Tokugawa charms and talismans bearing the name of a religious institution (usually Ise Shrine) often fell from the sky, sparking mass pilgrimages. On these fabricated miracles, see Yoshioka Nagayoshi, *Nukemairi no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Hōkō Shobō, 1943), 103 and 109–110.
11. The *eejanaika* phenomenon of 1867 was also linked to reports of amulets falling from the sky; see Conrad Totman, *Early Modern Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 445.
12. James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985).
13. Davis, *Trickster Travels;* Subrahmanyam, *Three Ways to Be Alien.*
14. *Tenarai shikimoku,* 12 verso.

APPENDIX

1. *Tamaboko* (jeweled spear) is a pillow word connected to *michi* (road).

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Laura Nenzi (Ph.D., University of California Santa Barbara) is Associate Professor of History at the University of Tennessee. She is the author of *Excursions in Identity: Travel and the Intersection of Place, Gender, and Status in Edo Japan* (University of Hawai‘i Press).

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